Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-087
Friday
4 May 1990

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FBIS-EEU-90-087 *4 May 1990*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Alia Visits Southern Districts *[ATA]* 1
Alia Discusses Increased Incomes *[ATA]* 2
Alia Meets Gjirokaster District Cadres *[ATA]* 3
Assembly Commissions Discuss Bills for Session *[ATA]* 3
10th AWP Plenum Decisions Viewed *[ZERI I POPULLIT 27 Apr]* 3
Alia Sends National Day Greetings to Jaruzelski *[ATA]* 5

BULGARIA

Further on Restoring Relations With Israel *[BTA]* 6
Mladenov Meets Arens *[BTA]* 6
Renewal of Diplomacy Hailed *[BTA]* 6
News Conference Held *[BTA]* 6
Palestinian Embassy Statement on Arens Visit *[BTA]* 7
Finance Minister Receives IMF Delegation *[BTA]* 7
Yugoslav 'Discriminatory Measures' Denounced *[NARODNA MLADEZH 2 May]* 7
Lukanov-Led Delegation Departs for Prague *[BTA]* 8
Agrarian Party Holds Election Rally in Razgrad *[Sofia Radio]* 8
UDF Supporters at 1 May Events Deplored *[DUMA 2 May]* 8
BSP 1 May Procession, Lilov Speech Noted *[DUMA 2 May]* 9
BSP Campaign Official on Election Work *[DUMA 1 May]* 10
Lukanov, Pirinski, Bokov Attend Rallies *[DUMA 30 Apr]* 11
'Infighting' in Democratic Party Alleged *[DUMA 1 May]* 11
Union of Bessarabian Bulgarians Restored *[BTA]* 12
Regional Trade Union Centers Established *[DUMA 30 Apr]* 12
Agriculture Minister Discusses Agrarian Reform *[BTA]* 12
Deutsche Bank Official on Nation's Foreign Debt *[DUMA 2 May]* 13
Nomenklatura Denounced For 'Expropriation' *[NARODNA MLADEZH 2 May]* 13
Risk of Explosion in Varna Port Examined *[POGLED 30 Apr]* 14

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prague Demonstration Over Lithuania 3 May *[Prague TV]* 16
Havel Cables Greetings to Latvia 3 May *[CTK]* 16
Bulgaria's Lukanov Meets With Officials *[CTK]* 16
News Conference on Calfa-Lukanov Talks *[CTK]* 16
Further on News Conference *[Prague Radio]* 16
Havel, Lukanov Discuss Elections, Ties *[Prague Radio]* 16
Japanese Foreign Minister Pays Official Visit *[CTK]* 17
Dienstbier Receives Nakayama *[CTK]* 17
Calfa, Nakayama Discuss Cooperation *[CTK]* 17
Dlouhy, Nakayama View Modernizing Industry *[CTK]* 18
Nakayama Ends Visit, Departs *[CTK]* 18
U.S. Friendship Society First Meeting 29 Apr *[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 2 May]* 18
Memorials to U.S. Soldiers Unveiled *[RUDE PRAVO 27 Apr]* 18
Outcome of Disarmament Talks Said Disappointing *[Bognar in PRACE 28 Apr]* 18
New Generals Promoted, Appointed 3 May *[Prague Radio]* 19
Third New Mayor for Brno This Year *[MLADA FRONTA 29 Apr]* 19
Security Corps Members Sentenced for Beatings *[Prague Radio]* 19

Vacek, Miller Discuss Troops, Ethnic Clashes *[CTK]* 20
Gypsies Seek Protection From CPCZ *[RUDE PRAVO 29 Apr]* 20
Mohorita Denies Links with Secret Service *[RUDE PRAVO 29 Apr]* 20
Civic Commissions To Purge Interior Ministry *[RUDE PRAVO 28 Apr]* 21
Klaus Discusses Economic Reforms, Progress *[RUDE PRAVO 27 Apr]* 22
Foreign Trade Minister on Outstanding Debts *[CTK]* 24
CPCZ Leading Role Deleted From Constitution *[CTK]* 24
Bill on Agricultural Cooperatives Passed *[Prague Radio]* 24
Duputies Debate Bills on Housing, Social Security *[CTK]* 24
Slovak National Council Meets, Drafts Laws *[Bratislava PRAVDA 28 Apr]* 25
Slovak Prosecutor General Recalled *[Bratislava PRAVDA 27 Apr]* 26
Czech Parliament Passes New Laws 25 Apr *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 27 Apr]* 26
Civic Forum Nominates Havel for President *[CTK]* 26
Nomenklatura Said To Hold 80 Percent Key Posts *[Krejci in LIDOVE NOVINY 29 Apr]* 26
Prague TV Introduces PAV Jun Candidates *[Prague TV]* 27
State Bank Deregulates Interest Rates 1 May *[LIDOVE NOVINY 29 Apr]* 27
Cost of East German Mark Doubles *[RUDE PRAVO 27 Apr]* 27

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

De Maiziere on Mediation Between FRG, USSR *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 Apr]* 28
De Maiziere Announces Food Import Restrictions *[ADN]* 28
GDR-FRG State Treaty Talks Continue *[ADN]* 28
Ebeling on Development Aid, Visit to Nicaragua *[NEUE ZEIT 28 Apr]* 29
Meckel on Moscow Visit, Two-Plus-Four Talks *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 2 May]* 29
SCUD-B Missiles Transferred to Soviet Union *[ADN]* 30
De Maiziere Statement on Domestic Policies *[ADN]* 30
Commissioner Concerned About Xenophobia *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 28-29 Apr]* 31
German, Latvian Television Conclude Agreement *[ADN]* 31

HUNGARY

Premier Antall Discusses New Government *[Budapest Radio]* 32
Antall Interview on Government Formation *[Budapest Radio]* 32
Antall Discusses Governmental Priorities *[MTI]* 34
National Assembly Begins 2nd Session 3 May 34
Session Continues *[Budapest Radio]* 35
Further on Session *[Budapest Radio]* 36
Session Ends *[Budapest Radio]* 36
National Assembly Committees Approved, Listed *[Budapest Radio]* 37
Proposal To Restore Nagy's Citizenship *[MTI]* 39
National Assembly Agenda Altered *[MTI]* 39
Grosz on Publication of Kadar Documents *[NEPSZABADSAG 26 Apr]* 40
Pozsgay on HSP Activity, Parliamentary Faction *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 28 Apr]* 41
'Democratic Roundtable' Refuses To Admit HSP *[Budapest Radio]* 41
MDF's Jeszenszky on Foreign Policy Strategy *[NEPSZABADSAG 26 Apr]* 42
Cultural Leaders Refused Entry to Lithuania *[Budapest Radio]* 43
FRG Cooperates in Joint Publishing Venture *[MTI]* 43

POLAND

FRG's Von Weizsaecker Continues Visit 44
Polish Leaders View Talks *[Warsaw Radio]* 44
Details of Visit Reported *[PAP]* 44
Arrives in Gdansk *[PAP]* 46
Gen. Siwicki on Soviet Troop Withdrawals *[ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ 30 Apr-1 May]* 46
Senate Speaker Interviewed on USSR Visit *[RZECZPSPOLITA 25 Apr]* 47
PAP, RFE Cooperation Agreement Signed *[PAP]* 49
Foreign Economic Minister Visits Iraq *[cross-reference]* 49
Jaruzelski Speech Celebrates 3 May Constitution *[Warsaw TV]* 49

Opinion Poll Favors Mazowiecki for President *[Warsaw Radio]* 49
Geremek on Coalition, Elections, President *[PAP]* 50
Solidarity's Current Status, Concerns Viewed *[POLITYKA 17 Mar]* 50
Sejm Discusses Transfer of PZPR Assets *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 30 Apr-1 May]* 53
SdRP Asks Former PZPR Members for Support *[TRYBUNA 28-29 Apr]* 54
National Party, People's Party Form Alliance *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 28-29 Apr]* 54
Economic Official Interviewed on Privatization *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 25 Apr]* 55
Acting Plock, Kielce Governors Appointed *[PAP]* 56
New Weekly Publication Appears in Krakow *[Warsaw Radio]* 56

ROMANIA

Demonstrations Continue Throughout Country 57
In Bucharest, Cluj *[ROMPRES]* 57
In Bucharest, Timisoara *[Bucharest Radio]* 57
'Repression' of Protesters Condemned *[DREPTATEA 26 Apr]* 57
NPCDP Condemns 'Aggressive Attitude' *[DREPTATEA 26 Apr]* 57
PNUC's Kiraly Condemns Protests *[ROMPRES]* 58
Liberal Party Urges Calm, Dialogue *[ROMPRES]* 58
Orthodox Church Calls for Dialogue *[ROMPRES]* 58
Press Views Demonstrations *[ROMPRES]* 59
President Iliescu Continues Election Tour 60
Visit to Giurgiu Viewed *[DREPTATEA 24 Apr]* 60
Addresses Electoral Rallies *[ROMPRES]* 60
On Campaign Trail in Oltenia *[ROMPRES]* 61
In Olt County *[ROMPRES]* 61
Visits Dolj County, Tours Auto Plant *[ROMPRES]* 61
UN Election Experts Arrive in Bucharest *[ROMPRES]* 61
Election Commission, Parties Meet *[ROMPRES]* 61
Ratiu Gives Interview to French Journalists *[ROMPRES]* 62
On His Personal Program *[ROMPRES]* 62
Protests TV Coverage of Candidacy *[DREPTATEA 26 Apr]* 62
Says Democracy His 'Way of Life' *[DREPTATEA 26 Apr]* 63
* National Peasant Party Called 'Neo-Stalinist' *[DIMINEATA 12 Apr]* 63
National Peasant Party Program Criticized *[DIMINEATA 21 Apr]* 64
* Criteria for NPCDP Membership Noted *[DREPTATEA 18 Apr]* 65
Managers Urged To Vote for NPCDP *[DREPTATEA 26 Apr]* 65
Socialist Democratic Party Issues Initiatives *[ROMPRES]* 66
Proposals Set Forth by Liberal Socialist Party *[ROMPRES]* 66
Germans Democratic Forum To Run in Elections *[NEUER WEG 20 Apr]* 66
Supreme Court Turns Down Nomination Challenges *[ROMPRES]* 66
Iliescu Opposed Ceausescu's Summary Execution *[AFP]* 67
Complaint Made About Censorship of Mail *[DREPTATEA 21 Apr]* 67
Roman Meets TAROM TU Representatives *[ROMPRES]* 67
Education Minister on Organization of Schooling *[ROMPRES]* 68
Religious Denominations' Assembly Set Up in Arad *[ROMPRES]* 68
Diplomatic Relations With Vatican To Resume *[ROMPRES]* 68
Deputy Foreign Minister on Ties With U.S. *[ROMPRES]* 68
French Deputies Said Not To Represent Assembly *[ROMPRES]* 69
* Visas Now Needed To Enter Finland *[Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT 21 Apr]* 69
Economic Cooperation Agreements With Spain *[ROMPRES]* 69

YUGOSLAVIA

Japanese Foreign Minister Arrives for Talks *[TANJUG]* 70
Markovic Says Government To Enter Elections *[TANJUG]* 70
31st LCY Party Plenum Postponed Until 8 May *[Belgrade Radio]* 70
Plenum Delay Explained *[TANJUG]* 70
Drnovsek on Elections, Council of Europe *[BORBA 30 Apr, 1-2 May]* 71
Media Commentary Assesses Slovene Elections *[BORBA 25 Apr]* 71
MLADINA Questions Slovene Election Procedures *[BORBA 28-29 Apr]* 72

Serbia Urges Diplomatic Relations With Israel *[TANJUG]* 73
Vojvodina Daily Commentary on Croatian Elections *[Belovic in DNEVNIK 25 Apr]* 73
Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Alters Membership Rules *[TANJUG]* 74
Kosovo Presidium Supports LCY Congress Renewal *[BORBA 27 Apr]* 74
Vlasi Calls for Dialogue on Kosovo Problem *[TANJUG]* 74
New Austrian-Slovenian-Hungarian Periodical *[TANJUG]* 74

Alia Visits Southern Districts

AU0405110590 Tirana ATA in English 0846 GMT 3 May 90

["Comrade Ramiz Alia Among the People of Kolonje—Warm Talk With the Cooperativists of Selenice"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 2 (ATA)—The first secretary of the party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, left Korce today and arrived in Kolonje district. He was welcomed by the first secretary of the district party committee, Hysen Faqolli and by the chairman of the executive committee of the district people's council, Mikail Cakuli. On his way there, Comrade Ramiz stopped in the center of the agricultural cooperative of Selenice. With cooperativists, specialists and cadres of this economy he conducted a talk, during which Comrade Ramiz took interest of the progress Selenice has made in the fields of education, health service and especially of the distribution of the livestock of the small herds to the cooperativists. The working people of these sectors inform him of the situation and especially of the good results reached with regard to the protection of the people's health.

Since the meeting I had with you five years ago, and as far as I see and I was informed by you, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, you have made progresses, especially in the standard of living, in the field of education and culture, in the health of the people, etc. I am pleased to hear that Kolonje district has made steps forward.

Parting with the cooperativists of Selenice, Comrade Ramiz said: I would like, just like you, to stay longer, but we have to go since others are waiting for us.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia went in the town of Erseka, where he was welcomed by hundreds of working people, cooperativists of the nearby villages, youngsters and Enver's pioneers.

A meeting was organized in the district party committee with cadres, communists, specialists of various sectors.

The first secretary of the district party committee, Hysen Faqolli and other comrades spoke of the work and efforts of the working people of this district to put into life the decisions of the 10th plenum of the party Central Committee, especially of the improvements of the people's supply with agricultural and livestock products.

Comrade Ramiz Alia too, took the floor in the meeting, where he said among others:

Everywhere I went, I was told the 10th plenum has instigated new thoughts. This is positive. This plenum should change the mind [and] the mentalities of the people. Everything should be seen critically, it should be well divided [into] what is valuable as it is and what should be changed.

This plenum, he said, was not only for the economy, but for all the fields. First of all, the party organizations should reflect on this plenum. The life of the party should respond to the new demands that have come out beginning with the reports.

The party should be informed of the reality as it is. Otherwise, no correct conclusions can be reached. The people should voice freely their opinions, with communist sincerity, they should be open-hearted.

The decisions of the 10th plenum should change not only the inner life of the party. It should respond to the actual level and demands. The party leads efficiently when its line enters in the world of the masses, when it is assimilated by them. This mission cannot be realized with orders or decisions but through attracting the people with the example of the communists.

The 10th plenum, Comrade Ramiz continued further on, orientated that the party meeting should be open. This is not a matter of procedure, a merely organizational measure, because it has to do with the essence of the party work. Through such open meetings, the organizations are placed under the direct control of the people.

Actually, he underlined, some traditional forms of the work of our party have been devaluated and should be replaced with new forms.The forms of education should create possibilities for the people to think on their own,and not only approve.

Fundamental for the party is that its line be that of the masses. There is no socialism without a self-activity of the people, without democracy, that is, without the power of the people. It is said several times, that the masses' line is realized through the party. This stands. But the 10th plenum demanded alongside the consolidation of the leading role of the party, also the greater direct participation of the people in the power activity.

The democratization of the life of the party and power is not an easy thing. Here, various social, cultural, traditional and other factors are interwoven. To act in a democratic way means to have the ethics of debate and dialogue, to listen with patience to the other till the end and to respect his opinion, to discuss with arguments and not to impose on him with the post and the duty you already have. The democracy of the people is the most efficient arm in the struggle against red tape, which is not a temporary phenomenon, but one the most dangerous wounds for socialism.

I am not of the opinion that norms be fixed on the percentage of the cadres of the apparatuses that will be reduced but still there is place to have certain reductions. The apparatuses of the party and power are in function with the elected organs. But, in practice, they exercise more power than they belong to. Their ratios with the forums should change. This lays down the task to increase the role of the elected, which means that the most capable people should be elected, people who are up to the competences they have.

If we speak of the increase of the party's role, he said, this implies also the increase of the role of the mass organizations. They should act more freely in their activity and the party organization should give up their tendencies to dictate on them.

In the spirit of the 10th plenum, every worker, every work center should define what changes they are going to make.

At the end, Comrade Ramiz Alia congratulated the working people of Kolonje for their successes and wished them fresh ones.

Rally in Leskovik

In Leskovik too, the people lined up on both sides of the street encirled Comrade Ramiz Alia with special affection. The people of Leskovik wanted to see him closely and talk cheek by jowl with him.

Amidst this atmosphere, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor. He said: I am too glad to be amongst you, the patriotic and industrious people of Leskovik. This time, as I came to Kolonje, I would certainly come to you. Leskovik is a region with outstanding traditions, known of its bravery. In this part of our country lives a people distinguished for patriotism and love for the homeland. You, he said, are masters of some products, particularly of wines, famous throughout Albania.

Your zone is among the remotest of our country. The party is informed of the progress you have made and the problems you should solve. Some of these problems requires also the state support. You have lands and natural assets, but your population is few in numbers. That is why the party has called on dense populated areas as Devoll to voluntarily send their sons and daughters to work here for ever. I am sure you will welcome them as industrious people ready to devote themselves to the cause of the homeland.

In the course of my stay in Korce and Kolonje, he went on, I noticed with pleasure that the directives of the party in the recent plenums particularly in the 10th plenum, have aroused an all-sided concern amongst the people. The people see in the party's line, its programs their future. Today's decisions are tomorrow's reality. Hence, the masses' initiative is enhanced. The people must take part in drafting the production plans and running the affairs. The destinies of the homeland and socialism are sure when they are in the hands of the working masses. Everything is done as people wants it, this is the line of the party.

Albania, said Comrade Ramiz Alia, has existed through centuries, the Albanian people has been living in these territories for thousands of years and they have waged struggles for freedom, but they fully won and enjoy it following the establishment of socialism. We will defend this freedom at all costs. Our people has experienced what does it mean to be under domination and dictat of foreigners. Therefore, here no one else, but the people will be master of our country. Albania will become more beautiful and powerful on its toil and sweat.

I see in your eyes, said Comrade Ramiz, your enthusiasm and pleasure, you cherish ardent feelings for the party.

Comrade Ramiz Alia was seen off with affection by the people of Leskovik and on May 2 afternoon arrived in Permet.

Alia Discusses Increased Incomes

AU0405124290 Tirana ATA in English 0825 GMT 4 May 90

["Rally With the People of Deshnice"—ATA Headline]

Tirana, May 4 (ATA)—In continuation of his visits, Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party [AWP] and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, went to Suke on May 3. Besides its inhabitants, other people of Deshnice, Permet District, had gathered there. He cordially greeted the cooperativists. Comrade Ramiz Alia was accompanied by Skender Kuci, first secretary of the district party committee, and Bashkim Xhokollari, chairman of the executive committee of the district people's council.

The secretary of the party bureau of the cooperative, Hazbi Kapo, and others spoke of the work and achievements in economy and other fields, the life of people that is becoming ever more prosperous and cultured, the enthusiasm that the decisions of the 10th plenum have aroused and the efforts of the communists and all cooperativists to translate them into life.

Taking the floor, after expressing his pleasure for being amongst the people of this zone, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

The improvement of the people's living is the main preoccupation of the party, the objective of its plans and decisions. The progress in this field is great and incomparable with the past. But the party thinks always for more, to improve the material living conditions of the working people in accord with their culture and education, with the level of the demands of the time and the purchasing power of the population.

The policy of the party for the development of agriculture, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, has considered and still considers the great possibilities the nature of our country offers. In other conditions, these possibilities would have remained unexploited, as they have remained for centuries. Socialism made a reality the century-long dream of the people to be master of the assets of their country.

We have considered agriculture as basic branch of the economy, not only because it is a source of the food of the people, as the foundation of their living and the development of the two third of population but also as a supplier of raw materials for industry and an important

pillar of export. The party is working so that the interest of the masses to work and live in the countryside increase. In perspective, the funds and material means will increase on this branch.

I would like to inform you, Comrade Ramiz Alia said further on, that the 10th plenum decided among others, that the prices with which the livestock products are gathered be increased. This important measure, as well as some other changes in this fields [as received], in the economic relations between the state and the property of the group, will serve the growth of the incomes of the peasantry and the elevation of its wellbeing, the further consolidation of socialist agriculture and the alliance between the workers and cooperativists, the city and the countryside, through the economic way. This will be defrayed by the state, leaving intact the retail sale prices. The increase of the prices of gathering of products means a greater contribution of the society to agriculture. Our industrious and patriotic peasantry has merited it and has made it possible itself. Thanks to the incomes created in the countryside now, conditions are created that more incomes be used on the progress of agriculture and livestock. On the other hand, industries, too, now may provide more incomes and will increase their aid toward agriculture.

Only in an economy with a complete structure may the redistribution of the incomes among branches be limited. [sentence as received] This creates conditions that the financial sources be used mainly there where they are created, that the progress of development be reorientated and harmonized in a new level, that in the relations among cooperatives, state enterprises, the principle of enumeration according to the work be applied in a wider scale.

Following the rally, Comrade Ramiz Alia left seen off with affection by the people of this zone and arrived in Gjirokaster on May 3.

Alia Meets Gjirokaster District Cadres

AU0405130790 Tirana ATA in English 0806 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Tirana, May 4 (ATA)—Comrade Ramiz Alia had a meeting with leading cadres of the organs of the party, power, and economy, with vanguard working people of the district of Gjirokaster at the "Zihni Sako" theater hall on May 3, afternoon.

Those present burst out into applauses when Comrade Ramiz Alia entered the hall.

Manxhar Binaj, first secretary of the district party committee, and other comrades informed Comrade Ramiz Alia on the revolutionary mobilization, enthusiasm, and drive of the working people of the city and countryside to translate into life the decisions of the 10th plenum of the Party Central Committee.

Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor at the meeting.

Assembly Commissions Discuss Bills for Session

AU0305121690 Tirana ATA in English 0949 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Tirana, May 3 (ATA)—In continuation of the preparations for the coming session of the People's Assembly, the Permanent Commissions of the Foreign Affairs and Trade convened, on May 2.

The Foreign Affairs Commission discussed on the projects to be forwarded for approval at the coming session of the People's Assembly, such as that "On the Enterprises," "For the Prices and Tariffs," "On Some Changes in the Law on the Compilation and Application of the State Budget," "On the State Bank," "On the Agricultural Bank," etc. The chairman of this commission, the deputy Foto Cami, said among others that these projects open a wide scope to the socioeconomic life and are of a great importance for the consolidation of the economy and further democratization of the country's life. Their application will give another impulse to the solution of the problems emerging from the development of the country, etc.

The meeting of the Permanent Trade Commission, presided by the chairman of this commission, the deputy Manxhar Binaj, discussed widely on the draft laws presented by the Council of Ministers regarding the perfection of the economic mechanism and legislation in implementation of the tasks the 10th plenum of the Party Central Committee laid down.

10th AWP Plenum Decisions Viewed

AU0305193690 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Apr 90 p 1

[Editorial: "Let Us Renew the Method of Work"]

[Text] Let us renew the method of work. Let us throw away everything outdated that hinders us from embracing everything that makes it possible to advance more rapidly and, why not, to make up for the time lost in this or that aspect. This is not easy, however. The "magic wand" does not come into it. What does come into it is, primarily, a proper understanding of the decisions of the 10th Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee [CC] plenum. This must be followed by everyone's earnest effort to implement these decisions. However, we are realists. Comrade Ramiz has stressed: "...Bureaucracy and routine are not eliminated easily." And he goes on to give us this advice: "To relinquish something, one must learn something else, something that is more highly qualified. It is easier to do something in the way that it has been done over decades than to master a new manner of management."

Thus, this is not a matter for partial refinements, but for radical improvements in management methods. What has now emerged as a primary necessity is the method of fruitful economic management, which must replace administrative management, management through command alone. In this matter, the party organizations and

leading bodies, and their apparatuses, must adopt a stand and say "halt!" to the duplicating practices of the economic and state bodies. In this context, as the party instructs us, "Let us begin with ourselves." What does this mean? It means that the party insists that, starting with the CC apparatus and those of the district party committees, central departments, institutions, and so forth, the method of work must be renewed. The facts of these first few days since the plenum have shown this. At an extended meeting of the CC staff apparatus, Comrade Hekuran Isai, AWP CC secretary, posed the problem of lightening this apparatus, of introducing structural improvements, which would bring more dynamism into the method of its work, eliminating some unfruitful practices burdened by intermediate links. Again, the Berat District AWP Committee met in the same spirit of quick reflection, deciding to reduce the staff of this committee's apparatus by 50 percent. Reductions of this nature are also intended in some other districts. We believe that this kind of reasoning and action is in full conformity with the demands of the 10th plenum. In the final analysis, bureaucracy and routine must be made to feel the constraints, they must be made to feel that they are constantly subjected to the blows of democratization, not only as concepts, but also as a practice. It is therefore important to fight on two fronts: on the front of creating new convictions, as well as on the front of practical steps to eliminate routine and bureaucracy. Why do we raise this question? Because there is hesitation, because there is guesswork: How is a party committee apparatus going to cope with half its staff gone? This is a question that may be asked by some Communists and cadres who do not easily give up their practices of yesterday. They must be given well-argued answers, persuading them that the party's work in the districts is not to be equated with the work of the staff of party committee apparatuses and that the party committee is not to be equated with the party headquarters. Those who bear and must bear the main burden of the party's work are the people elected to the party forums (who can and must act more efficiently, who must perform inspired work capable of touching the feelings and minds of people).

Can the party's work be carried out at this level? It is possible to do so, but it is necessary to give up some practices that have stereotyped and withered it in a number of aspects. The party committees have frequently replaced the state and economic bodies. It is true that manifestations of duplication in management work have been criticized over a long period and that there has been a great deal of insistence that everyone must find his true position. For the sake of truth, however, one must admit that this has been difficult to carry out in practice because of the almost identical party and state structures. For example, frequently the economic sector of the district party committees, or the education sector, have either imitated the planning, agriculture, or education and culture sections of the executive committees, or have reduced the latter to mere collectors of documentation. Not to mention the fact that they themselves may have become ordinary collectors. The 10th plenum insists that these routine practices be stopped without fail.

The economic enterprises are now moving on to the system of independent account management. One might say they are now really becoming their own masters. Therefore, the workers and managers themselves will show a greater interest than ever before in self-control, in the organization and management of their affairs, production costs, increased productivity, and discipline. A number of control links in the departments and executive committees will obviously find themselves without anything to do because their responsibilities have been delegated elsewhere, to the base. What is to be done then? Reductions in apparatuses become an obvious necessity. However, this must be carried out intelligently, instead of mechanically. Why do we say this? Because the party has raised the question of lightening the apparatuses on previous occasions, too, and has worked in that direction. It must be said, however, that a certain euphoria has been noticeable in the implementation of this party directive, as well as bureaucratic resistance on the part of some officials, who would reduce their staff by five members, and replace them with 10 others a year later. This must not happen again. Staff reductions must be argued, and when the arguments are complete, the apparatus cadres will go to work nearer the production base willingly.

Staff reductions in the apparatuses are one aspect of the problem's solution. The other aspect has to do with the need to "divorce" oneself from practices that may have been familiar for decades. The people elected to the various party and state forums, in particular, must do this in a qualitative manner so that their word will be listened to and be authoritative, without fail, in their daily work. It is these people who can and must set the tone, as is appropriate for the party's leading work. They must do this where they work and outside of their place of work, in their own close circle or outside of it, whenever the forum sets concrete tasks and, all the more so, when they themselves take on new tasks and resolve problems together with the Communists and the masses.

What is new encounters difficulties; that is a well-known fact. A lot depends on our inclination to accept what is new, on the extent to which we support it from the embryonic stage, so that it may gather strength and progress. This requires not only passion, but also more culture and more communist responsibility. Let us take, for example, the work of the district party committees to fully mobilize the energies of the intelligentsia. One cannot inspire and stimulate their work only by asking them to report to forums, by organizing seminars with intellectuals, or by issuing instruction after instruction from above. To draw out the intelligent thoughts of intellectuals means that the party worker himself should lead the life of an intellectual, as an author and as a citizen. It means talking to intellectuals as equals, respecting their ideas, but also engaging in strong debates. When they voice a contrary opinion (which can

be more progressive than one's own), their arguments must be accepted. One should not try to convince them of the opposite, giving the impression that there is allegedly an instruction "from above," according to which the problem is resolved "in this way...and only in this way." Those who may use this kind of "umbrella" as a justification now will find it difficult to escape the "shower" of criticism for mediocrity and the inclination to conceal it. This is not a phraseological prophecy, but a truth based on the dialogue and the free debate that is beginning to take place better than hitherto in collectives, at open meetings of the party organizations, in front of the television camera, in the press, and throughout our public opinion. There are two ways, therefore: Those who may try to dictate in the debate through "prescriptions from above" will either have to make way and be "disarmed," so to speak, or—as Comrade Ramiz advises—they will have to give up their outdated methods and do some more qualified work. To do something more qualified, in drawing out the full capabilities of the intelligentsia, means also to free oneself, as a party worker, from the complex of attaching tags to this or that intellectual who may offer an opinion that is contrary to that of a leading cadre or a state or party forum, at district or departmental level, but which does not advance matters in practice, does not provide solutions to problems raised by time. The party and the people are interested in resolving problems and in overcoming difficulties, not in sectarian tagging with a politicized phraseology, used rightly or wrongly, which may be comfortable for officials vested in paraphrastic "clothing," but are useless for the well-being of people and the country's progress.

The renewal of the party's method of leadership work is a vital necessity. It can be achieved neither in one month nor in two months, but meanwhile there is no reason to wait years on end for it to be achieved. What can be put right today must be put right today. As for those matters that need more time, let public opinion be prepared and let debates seethe in the basic organizations, in plenums, and in the party bureaus in order to put things right, bearing in mind all factors: tradition, cultural levels, and material conditions. The main thing is that the people must see by themselves how the party is struggling concretely against bureaucratic practices, how it renews itself and its method of work.

Alia Sends National Day Greetings to Jaruzelski

AU0405115890 Tirana ATA in English 1010 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Tirana, May 3 (ATA)—The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, sent the following message of greetings to the president of the Republic of Poland, Wojiech Jaruzelski:

On occasion of the National Day of your country, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and in my name, I convey to you the best greetings and wishes for the happiness of the Polish people.

I hope that the relations between the two countries develop continuously.

Farther on Restoring Relations With Israel

AU0305182690 Sofia BTA in English 1705 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 3 (BTA)—The geographical proximity and the re-establishment of the diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Israel open good prospects for economic interaction between the two countries. This was the conclusion made at today's meeting of Bulgarian Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov with Mr. Moshe Arens, minister of foreign affairs of Israel, who is in the second day of his official visit here.

It was stressed that the economic cooperation agreements which, among other things, envisage Israeli investments in a number of economic branches in Bulgaria should be quickly fulfilled.

On behalf of Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, Mr. Moshe Arens extended an invitation to Mr. Andrey Lukanov to pay a visit to Israel.

Mladenov Meets Arens

AU0305183090 Sofia BTA in English 1703 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 3 (BTA)—Today President Petur Mladenov had a meeting with Mr. Moshe Arens, minister of foreign affairs of Israel, who is paying an official visit to Bulgaria. They discussed the ways of activating and concretizing the two countries' mutually advantageous cooperation and partnership. The problems were considered in the context of the re-establishment of the diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Israel—an act to the interest of the two countries and the two peoples.

At the request of Bulgaria's head of state, the guest expressed the position of Israel regarding the situation in the Middle East. On his part Mr. Petur Mladenov stated the in-principle position of the Bulgarian side concerning the crisis in this part of the world, underlining the necessity of a peaceful and just solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict by guaranteeing the interests of all peoples in the region.

On behalf of President Hayim Herzog of Israel, Mr. Moshe Arens extended an invitation to Mr. Petur Mladenov to visit Israel, fixing the date at his convenience.

Renewal of Diplomacy Hailed

AU0305183690 Sofia BTA in English 1725 GMT 3 May 90

["23 Seconds Fill in 23-Year Long Gap in Relations Between Bulgaria and Israel"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 3 (BTA)—23 seconds were enough today to restore diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Israel. It took that long for the foreign affairs minister of Israel Moshe Arens, who is paying a visit to this country, and his Bulgarian counterpart Boyko Dimitrov to put their signatures under a declaration which put an end to the 23-year long absence of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The guest assessed the signed documents, having in mind also a protocol about economic cooperation, as historic. "We are opening a new chapter in our relations and I am sure that it will be one of cooperation and real friendship," he said.

The leader of the Israeli diplomacy stressed that in his country special attention is being paid to restoration of diplomatic relations with Bulgaria which is related with the Bulgarian people's struggle for salvation of Jews in Bulgaria in the time of fascism. "This heroic chapter of the Bulgarian history is written down in the Jewish history, too, and in the history of the world," the Israeli minister said.

Mr. Moshe Arens highly assessed the processes of democratization in Bulgaria and said that Israel, though a small country, is ready to do everything possible to help our country in this difficult moment.

Bulgaria has never stopped to acknowledge Israel as a political reality and has never put under doubt its right to exist in the conditions of peace and security, said Bulgarian Foreign Minister Boyko Dimitrov. We are convinced that normalization of relations will create new possibilities for expansion of mutually beneficial cooperation, he added.

The Bulgarian foreign minister recalled that this country's government produced evidence about its adherence to the principle of freedom and self-determination of each people by creating conditions for all Bulgarian Jews to leave to Israel and establish themselves there. In relation with that we can mention the thought expressed several times by Mr. Moshe Arens during his visit that bilateral diplomatic relations have, in fact, never been terminated as there are about 40,000 Bulgarian "envoys" who have migrated to Israel and many Jewish "envoys" who are living in Bulgaria.

The restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel will not infringe Bulgaria's relations with third countries, including such as the Arab people of Palestine, Boyko Dimitrov said.

The protocol for economic cooperation plans interaction in the air-transport, tourism, agriculture, telecommunications, science and technology, banking. There is a mutual wish to reach agreements for mutual protection of investments and avoiding of double taxation.

News Conference Held

AU0305185690 Sofia BTA in English 1746 GMT 3 May 90

["Bulgaro-Israeli Diplomatic Relations Contribute to Middle East Peace"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 3 (BTA)—According to Mr. Moshe Arens the 23-year-long absence of diplomatic relations

between Bulgaria and Israel was an anomaly and their official re-establishment is a historical act, a new chapter in the two countries' relations. Before leaving the country after a two-day visit to Bulgaria, Mr. Moshe Arens, minister of foreign affairs of Israel, said at a press conference with Bulgarian and foreign journalists that the re-establishment of his country's diplomatic relations with Eastern Europe is a contribution to the peace in the Middle East.

Now we are able to learn more about the situation in the Middle East and to make a greater contribution to the peaceful settlement of the conflicts there, said Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria. Answering a question, he pointed out that the possibility of Bulgaria's agency in overcoming the crisis in this part of the world was not discussed and that it is not in the style of his country to try to gain confidence by launching ill-considered initiatives.

Mr. Moshe Arens sees the two countries' economic cooperation in the light of mutual advantage and believes that it can contribute to overcoming the economic difficulties Bulgaria faces now, including her foreign debt.

Palestinian Embassy Statement on Arens Visit

AU0305183890 Sofia BTA in English 1745 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 3 (BTA)—The Embassy of the Palestinian State in Bulgaria presented to the BTA a statement in connection with the visit of Israeli foreign minister, Mr. Moshe Arens, to Bulgaria. Considering the re-establishment of the diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Israel an internal affair of the former, the Palestine Liberation Organization would like to remind that Israel continues to deny the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent state of their own. Israel refuses to succumb to the international will and is doing her best to crush the restoration of the Palestinian people, it is said in the statement. Further on the conviction is expressed that the Bulgarian people and the Bulgarian Government will always be on the side of the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine and their struggle for freedom, democracy and self- determination in their own land.

Finance Minister Receives IMF Delegation

AU0305184090 Sofia BTA in English 1748 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 3 (BTA)—Today Mr. Belcho Belchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of finance, received Ms. Duncan Ripley, who is leading the delegation of the International Monetary Fund. At the meeting the two sides discussed the results of the delegation's three-week-long visit to Bulgaria and the further activity related to the assertion of Bulgaria's candidature for membership in the fund.

Yugoslav 'Discriminatory Measures' Denounced

AU0305141290 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 2 May 90 p 7

[Article by Velizar Enchev, OTECHESTVEN FRONT correspondent in Belgrade, "exclusively" for NARODNA MLADEZH: "The Dollar Is no Criterion for National Dignity"]

[Text] Belgrade, 1 May —The discriminatory decision of the Yugoslav authorities on the obligatory change of $200 applying to every East European citizen visiting Yugoslavia is already a fact that we are obliged to accept. Let us also accept the rather unpleasant truth affecting all Bulgarians about the disparaging attitude toward everything connected with Bulgaria that has prevailed and has been deliberately maintained over several decades in Yugoslavia. This attitude is insulting our national self-confidence and greatly contributes to Yugoslavia's chronic anti-Bulgarian campaign.

All Bulgarians have long realized that Bulgaria has been the cheapest "supermarket" for Yugoslav citizens for the last 40 years. Even after the obligatory exchange of $15 daily (which incidentally applies to all foreigners, and not only to our neighbors), our country continues to be subjected to the mass invasion of Yugoslav black marketeers. The pattern is notorious—U.S. dollars and West German marks were exchanged on the black market, and all kinds of goods were purchased with the enormous amounts of Bulgarian leva exchanged in this manner, after which the visitors used to stuff their goods in the luggage compartments of their automobiles. Some Belgrade intellectuals openly admitted in talking to me that nowhere in the world had they felt so rich as in Bulgaria. A well-known Serbian writer once said: "There is no country in the world like Bulgaria, where a foreigner can purchase so much with so little money and so little effort...."

A week after Yugoslavia's discriminatory measure, the Romanian authorities introduced an identical rule for Yugoslav citizens visiting their country, while Hungary and Poland submitted sharp protests. In one of its last issues, the Serbian daily POLITIKA EKSPRES, in an arrogant and patronizing tone, tried to advise Bulgarian citizens how to "swallow the bitter pill" of the $200. A report under the strange title "A Train Named Deceit" was published on 26 April 1990, which claimed that the Bulgarian authorities were allegedly planning to evade the customs restriction in question by introducing a tourist train on the Sofia-Nis line. This line was supposed to open as soon as possible (at least according to the author), and its main purpose would certainly have nothing to do with visiting cultural-historical sites in the Nis area, but with...illicit trade.

This is a striking example of insulting insinuations against Bulgaria that affect every Bulgarian citizen who crosses our western border with perfectly honest intentions. As to my own opinion, I am deeply convinced that the overwhelming majority of my compatriots are not

black marketeers, as POLITIKA EKSPRES is trying to suggest, but honorable and decent people, even if for the time being they may be poorer than their Western neighbors.

The climax of this anti-Bulgarian campaign, however, is a POLITIKA EKSPRES article by Pero Rakocevic, TANJUG correspondent in Sofia. It was published on 29 April 1990, under the rubric: "Yugoslavia and its Neighbors." Written in a particularly vicious tone, the article tries to show the Yugoslav readers how miserable the present situation of Bulgarian citizens is today, and how they look at Yugoslavia as their "only window onto the world....." Imagine, what insolence, despite the depressing economic situation, the Bulgarian press dares to insist that there are no Macedonians in Bulgaria, and in addition to this insolent attitude, which is unacceptable for Yugoslavia, the Bulgarian press even dares to claim that Macedonians are actually Bulgarians....

As to the notorious $200, Pero Rakocevic condescendingly points out: "...The Bulgarians' reaction to the recent decision of our Federative Government on the obligatory $200 exchange appears somewhat ridiculous under the circumstances. They are capable of quarreling with you, without any reason, like children who have been deprived of a precious, newly received toy."

I am deliberately closing my report by citing this passage. I would like to ask my readers two questions: Can we pass over this arrogant attitude in diplomatic silence? Is our national dignity worth less than $200?

Lukanov-Led Delegation Departs for Prague

AU0305130290 Sofia BTA in English 1209 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 3 (BTA)—A Bulgarian governmental delegation left today for Prague, headed by Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers. The visit is at the invitation of the Government of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic. It plans meetings at which to discuss the future relations between the two countries.

Agrarian Party Holds Election Rally in Razgrad

AU0305204090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] This evening, the United Agrarians of Razgrad invited their supporters and fellow citizens to commemorate St. George's Day. Viktor Vulkov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] Permanent Board, made a speech about the BZNS election platform that, according to the speaker, has freed itself from the tutelage of the Bulgarian Communist Party, has put an end to the movement's existence without its own program, and, after 10 November, has a specific contribution to make in developing democratization and pluralism in Bulgaria.

UDF Supporters at 1 May Events Deplored

AU0405083990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 2 May 90 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "UDF Supporters Defamed Holiday of Labor"]

[Text] Many of the supporters of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] in "9 September" Square on 1 May behaved like the English—more precisely, like those English soccer fans who have been terrorizing European soccer games for years.

Miraculously, there were no casualties. However, people were beaten up, kicked, and spat upon. There were insults, calls for revenge, and a surprising degree of venom. Only the decisive intervention of the security forces prevented a serious, and perhaps bloody, clash at the end of the demonstration organized by "Podkrepa."

The target of the attacks was the people who were heading toward the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] club carrying their party's badges and flags. They had thought that, despite the political passions, mutual respect in Sofia's streets had not been abandoned. However, it appears that the rules of civilized behavior do not apply to the customers of the "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation.

"I wanted to go to the BSP Election Club and put my signature under the initiative of President Petur Mladenov. They called me 'murderess,' and 'mafiosa,' kicked me in the shins, spat on me, threw my flowers away, and chanted 'Bulgarian Communist Party go to Belene!'," Khristina Bacheva said, crying.

Tsvetana Suykova said that while she was walking along "Ruski" Boulevard with her daughter and granddaughter, she met a group of UDF supporters. When they saw her BSP badge they started to chant: "Murderers, bloodsuckers, death to you!" The woman was very upset.

"Is this the democracy they intend to establish if they win the elections? They will attack and kill us. I am 59 years old and have applied for membership of the BSP. I hope to be admitted within 20 days," she said.

"I laid a flower at the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum. They almost killed me. Is this democracy?...." Petya Dimitrova said.

On the other hand, Veselin Lyutskanov from Sozopol said that he liked what he saw. "Only those who feel powerless behave in such a way," he said.

Professor Dr. Boris Buyukliev began a discussion with UDF members in front of the Russian Church. He could barely escape: "Before 9 September, I was a member of the Young Workers' Union. We had discussions with members of the Legion [fascist organization] and the Young Agrarians' Union, but I have never seen such a crowd...."

"I came with the children, balloons, and flowers," Elena Radneva said. "Nothing was spared. I approached the young men with blue ribbons who were guarding the UDF rally. They answered: 'Madam, you take care of your safety....'"

The same young men, this time in front of the BSP Election Club, said: "We are not responsible for your (BSP's) supporters who mingle in our rally. This is a jungle. We are not responsible for people who cross it."

Slogans such as "Murderers—Mafia," "Mafia," and "BSP, go to Belene," filled the air. People were indiscriminately spat on and hundreds of thumbs were pointed down.

The UDF leaders, headed by Zhelyu Zhelev and Konstantin Trichkov, continued to greet their supporters from the tribune at the Bulgarian National Bank. The guests of the "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation from Poland's "Solidarity," the French Confederation of Christian Workers," the "Labor Power" Confederation of Labor, and the Bulgarian Section of Radio Free Europe, as well as dozens of our and foreign journalists, could see for themselves what democracy "Bulgarian-style" means....

"With such low political culture, and two left or two right sandals we shall not reach further than Belgrade. A man needs two legs if he wants to move forward....," Ilcho Panayotov from Sofia, 80 years old, wisely concluded.

A little while afterward, the equipment of the city cleaning service restored the square to its usual appearance. The brushes and water jets cleaned the spit and pieces of blue paper from the pavement. "1 May in Blue" continued in the green fields of Southern Park.

The "exemplary behavior" competition continues....

Editorial note: The Editorial Board has a videotape of the aforementioned events in front of the BSP club. We are ready to show it on Bulgarian Television.

BSP 1 May Procession, Lilov Speech Noted

AU0405085990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
2 May 90 p 1

[Report by Dimitrana Aleksandrova, Dora Chichkova, and Milena Dimitrova: "Victory! This Is Sofia Socialists' Slogan"]

[Text] The people came from all parts of Sofia. They did not come in tight formations, were not forced to attend, and did not carry the portraits of those who were on the mausoleum's tribune anyway. On their holiday, the workers, members of the intelligentsia, Socialists, and their supporters came with the pride and dignity that stem from their work. They turned the 500,000-man-strong procession into the greatest preelection demonstration of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

The participants carried posters that read: "BSP with the workers—the workers with the BSP," "Rights and security for all," "BSP is for peaceful transition toward democracy," and "The 10th is our lucky day."

Those who woke up early were already at the BSP Election Club in the early morning hours. Both older people and young people know that since the song "Let Us Sing Together" has existed, Labor Day is marked by happiness.

Without ceremony and official events, the Socialists came with many flowers in their hands, which they placed at the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum, the Garrison Firing Range [where partisans were executed before 9 September 1944], and the memorial houses of the proletarian tribunes.

At the same time, hundreds of thousands already gathered in front of the People's Palace of Culture. The Sofia City Brass Band added to the holiday mood. The participants observed yet another "tradition"—they formed long lines in front of the places where BSP election badges and insignia, the party platform, and DUMA were handed out. The election drawings of Boris Dimovski and a sea of red banners and tricolors made everything even more beautiful.

The BSP leaders came on foot from various directions. They found it difficult to cut through the crowds—thousands of outstretched hands stopped them. The people wanted autographs, or simply to shake hands. A woman had prepared a special loaf of bread and succeeded in making the leaders taste it before the greetings began.

Krasimir Miloradov, 27-year-old worker at the "Elpromenergo" combine, first addressed the honest people of labor, who on that day can openly look each other in the eye and wish each other success at this difficult time. "I do not accept a multiparty system that discriminates against the socialist idea and the dream of a socially just society. I do not accept an election platform primarily based on antagonism and insults addressed to the opponent," he said.

BSP Chairman Aleksandur Lilov spoke about national consensus and the peaceful transition toward democracy.

"It is a cold day, and this morning it even snowed on Vitosha Mountain. Let it be warm and bright in our souls. Let us be warmed by the heat of friendship and solidarity with all working people in Bulgaria and throughout the world."

He again confirmed the BSP's position on the election and the future:

"It is easy to shout 'Down With the BSP.' However, it is difficult to march for 100 years throughout the developments of our epoch. A century is a very long period, and every party that can withstand this test has the right to public recognition and political self-confidence."

Aleksandur Lilov recalled that it was this party that initiated the change that some people now claim credit for. The BSP is profoundly and honestly assessing its past. However, while condemning the deformations it does not negate everything that has been constructed until now. This would mean to negate the labor of all those who selflessly and consciously worked for the benefit of the country.

The hundreds of thousands of Socialists and their supporters began the festive procession with proudly raised heads. Their festive mood prevailed in "Patriarch Evtimiy," "Tolbukhin," and "Gurko" Streets.

Even a lady who shook out something that appeared to be a blue tablecloth over the procession could not spoil the festive mood.

The regular group of Muslims waited in front of the Turkish Embassy. The participants in the procession chanted "Bulgaria"!

"Bulgaria above everything, Bulgaria above all," said Andrey Lukanov. A short while before the procession joined the festive crowd of the independent trade unions, he expressed the gratitude of the BSP Supreme Council to the people who had come to celebrate 1 May with the Socialists.

"Let those who hasten to declare that the BSP belongs to the past make proper conclusions on the basis of today's celebration. The party is here and will remain here. Let nobody consider the Bulgarian people naive and politically ignorant. They know for whom they will vote on 10 and 17 June, because they want freedom, democracy, security, economic prosperity, and an independent state. The BSP can guarantee all this."

BSP Campaign Official on Election Work

AU0305150190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 1 May 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Elena Poptodorova, leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Election Campaign News Bureau, by Vasil Popov; place and date not given: "There Is No Point in Kicking Each Other in the Shins"]

[Excerpts] [Popov] At your first news conference in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Election Campaign Club, you were asked to provide some autobiographical details. What was the precise question you had to answer on that occasion?

[Poptodorova] It was not a question, but bits and pieces of various questions, which I asked the interviewers to be more specific about—did they want some details on my life? Yes. I do not know whether they were reassured in learning that my parents were not party members. [passage omitted]

[Popov] How are you planning to manage the BSP News Bureau?

[Poptodorova] I would like to do it according to all the rules of the game, as they say. You know perfectly well that we have no experience in this field. The briefings, which have already started, are our main task. I would very much like to introduce the candidates as it is the custom all over the world. They should have the opportunity to explain their own election platform and justify the choice of the people who nominated them. I am convinced that a meeting with journalists is the best opportunity for such introductions.

[Popov] Is it possible for all BSP candidates to go through this procedure?

[Poptodorova] It is impossible. It may take place on the basis of groups or districts. Perhaps some kind of round-table could be organized. We should select an appropriate basis for such meetings, generally speaking. However, first I would like to see the list of candidates. We will try to edit news bulletins with brief reports on the BSP's election campaign. It is evident that the newspapers do not publish such reports, therefore there is no danger of duplication. We need such a bulletin, which can be published in the most primitive fashion—namely typewritten and copied.

[Popov] Every candidate can hardly meet all his constituents.

[Poptodorova] For this reason, we are planning to put up boards with pictures and biographical notes on the candidates. Something like this should exist. In addition, interviews and meetings are already in process.

[Popov] How do you intend to compensate for the lack of experience? Are you planning to apply experience from other countries?

[Poptodorova] I am acquainted with election campaign methods in the United States and Italy. [passage omitted] The situation in our country is quite different. Bulgarians are still not used to a controversial election campaign atmosphere. They have no experience in the practice of election campaign methods. In our country, things are still accepted at face value. The whole approach is highly emotional. The election campaign assumes dramatic proportions in Bulgaria.

[Popov] Considering that the opposition is conducting this kind of emotional campaign, how long should we continue to be "soft?"

[Poptodorova] I think that this is a question of style. Considering the BSP's controversial past, our party should not be aggressive. It should set a worthy example of sensible reaction, and the party can also rely on its strong points, such as experience, common sense, and tolerance, as its major assets. We should not reciprocate vicious attacks. There is no point in kicking each other in the shins. The party's weapons are its benevolence and lofty spirit. This is quite the opposite of weakness.

[Popov] How do you like the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] video clips?

[Poptodorova] Mr. Segella's idea is very effective—he shows a pendulum that marks the time indicating that you should make your own decision by choosing between freedom and communism. Very well, but as far as I know, he applied the same methods in the campaign he organized against Mitterrand in France. ["against" as published] He used the symbol of the pendulum and the blue color, only the slogan has somewhat changed. This is pure professionalism; it is high standard of professionalism, but it has a drastic effect upon our people, who, unlike the French public, are not used to such devices.

[Popov] Does this mean that a strong political polarization of our society is inevitable?

[Poptodorova] Following 10 November 1989, we are all partial to everything happening on the political scene. This is natural, considering that for a long time no one asked the ordinary citizen and the rank-and-file member of our society for their opinions. [passage omitted].

[Popov] Have you already met characters like Gocholu and Docholu [two characters of Bulgarian literature symbolizing petty political squabbles and opportunism]?

[Poptodorova] Everyone claims having met them.

[Popov] How great are their chances of success?

[Poptodorova] Well, being a meek and benevolent person, my forecasts are always optimistic....Nevertheless, we have to go through the forthcoming elections, and let us hope that the atmosphere of the next and of all future elections is more peaceful. Antagonism will certainly prevail at the forthcoming elections. After them, every political force should examine its own situation under the new circumstances. [passage omitted].

[Popov] What are the reasons that prompted you to engage in party work?

[Poptodorova] I have never dealt with party work, and I do not intend to do so in the future. For the time being, however, this is a question of ethics and decency, because I feel a sense of responsibility toward innumerable nameless people who are being denounced for the only reason of having lived according to some inexorable rules that turned out to be incorrect and antisocial.

Lukanov, Pirinski, Bokov Attend Rallies

AU0305123990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Apr p 1

[Local correspondent Ivan Ilkov's report: "Bulgarian Socialist Party Election Rallies Held"]

[Text] Razlog, Slashten Village, and Gotse Delchev, 29 April—Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov and Filip Bokov, Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council member, covered many kilometers in touring the Pirin area and meeting BSP members and the local population at election rallies.

The rallies followed each other. Numerous people, in a cheerful springtime mood, crowded the central square in Razlog, where they raised banners and chanted slogans: "Victory for the BSP," and with their thumbs up, expressed their support for the party of Bulgarian Socialists in the forthcoming elections and for its platform devoted to the country's future.

At his arrival in Nevrokop, Comrade Andrey Lukanov laid flowers beneath the memorial plate on the famous "house of bloodshed" where dozens of antifascists, Communists, Agrarians, and nonparty people were killed in the 1925 uprising.

Many from the Slashten border village, among them the newlyweds Mladen Palov, Evgeniya Khadzhieva, and their guests, left the wedding dance and cordially welcomed the two party leaders. In addition to Socialists and nonparty people, a small group of the members from the local Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] organization also attended the event on the village square. During the speeches of local leaders, when the audience chanted: "BSP, BSP" the opposition reacted with boos and cries "UDF, UDF," and "murderers." However, despite the different election slogans expressed during the rally, the Bulgarian national tricolor flags and the banners with the inscriptions: "Bulgaria's interests above all things" and "The Bulgarian nation—united and inseparable" remained hoisted on the square even after the rally.

The moderate and sensible address of the Council of Ministers' chairman calmed spirits, and the audience fell silent while attentively listening to his statement explaining the BSP's stand on the nationality issue. Andrey Lukanov assured the local population of his intention to contribute to resolving certain vitally important local problems, such as the removal of border installations, the supply of water resources for irrigation from the Mesta River, and the establishment of a local high school.

In the late afternoon, a rally took place in the "Makedoniya" Square of Gotse Delchev, where thousands of Socialists and BSP supporters from the town and from the neighbor municipalities of Gurmen, Khadzhi Dimovo, and Satovcha, gathered. The rally was held under the slogan: "For a democratic and humane socialism," and was attended by Georgi Pirinski, BSP Supreme Council deputy chairman, along with Andrey Lukanov and Filip Bokov. Under the tricolor national flags and the red party banners, numerous speakers urged the population to vote for the BSP candidates and for Bulgaria's democratic and socioeconomic renewal.

'Infighting' in Democratic Party Alleged

AU0405115490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 1 May 90 p 2

[Dora Chichkova article: "Infighting in Democratic Party"]

[Text] The 13th Congress of the Democratic Party has ended ... and yet it is about to take place. The reason—the central operational bureau does not recognize the forum that took place on 29-30 April as being legal. For their part, the participants in the congress do not recognize the aforementioned leadership as legitimate. Both sides describe each other as impostors.

Kostadin Georgiev, secretary of the provisional national operational bureau, said at the congress: "The people who represent the Democratic Party in the Coordination Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] are there by accident. However, the Coordination Council supports them. It does not take note of the democratic processes that are taking place in the organizations that form the UDF. This is indicative of the manner in which the UDF will act if it acquires the levers of state power. It is hardly by accident that similar conflicts emerged in other UDF member organizations that wanted to democratically elect their leadership.

Ivaylo Kutov, member of the Democratic Party central operational bureau, said: "One cannot simply prepare a congress within 20 days. This congress was attended mostly by delegates from Plovdiv Oblast and misguided people. Actually, there are two parties. The Democratic Party that is registered in Plovdiv is a regional organization. We expected to unite with them. That party is not a member of the UDF. The real Democratic Party, whose congress will take place this fall, is a member of the UDF."

According to one of the sides, the Democratic Party has branches in 28 municipalities. According to the other—in 36 municipalities. Only 17 municipalities were represented at the congress.

Union of Bessarabian Bulgarians Restored

AU0305203890 Sofia BTA in English
1955 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 3 (BTA)—The constituent meeting of the Union of Bessarabian and Tauric Bulgarians held here today revived the traditions of an organization which was set up in this country in 1918 and existed until 1952.

According to its statute the union is a voluntary public patriotic organization, the objectives of which are in strict conformity with the law and civil and political loyalty both in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union where Bessarabia and Tauris are.

Mr. Ivan Dundarov was elected chairman of the union.

Regional Trade Union Centers Established

AU0305141890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
30 Apr 90 p 1

[Nikolina Yambolieva report: "Regional Centers for Trade Union Defense"]

[Text] The Coordination Council of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria adopted a decision and exemplary rules for the establishment of regional centers for trade union protection in former okrug capitals. The centers will be organized as expert-consultative groups, composed of experts on working conditions and labor protection and on ecological issues—wherever such problems exist. They are also expected to include legal experts on legal aspect of labour disputes, and economists in charge of dealing with problems related to labor wages, to the minimum existence level, to living standard adjustments, and to methods of compensation for inflation. The experts' groups will also be in charge of exerting direct control over the domestic market and over consumers' interests. Sociologists will also be involved in this work as experts in solving collective labor disputes and in preparing collective labor contracts.

Agriculture Minister Discusses Agrarian Reform

AU0305130890 Sofia BTA in English
1217 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 3 (BTA)—Prof. Todor Pandov spoke in detail about the trends in the agrarian reform at a two-hour press conference held today. As most important points in the bill about the land which is to be published soon for discussion he determined the principle according to which the land is offered to those who can manage and cultivate it, the mechanisms of market economy should act in agriculture, agricultural activities should be privatized and demonopolized, production should be restructured and social policy for people working in agriculture should be changed.

"We should not, however, talk about giving back the land," Minister Pandov said. "In fact this is impossible: There were 980,000 private farms with an average size of 49 decares in the past which were scattered in 13-14 pieces. This land does no longer exist: It was changed qualitatively and quantitatively." That is why, according to Prof. Pandov, small private farms should not be restored, but the right of ownership should be given to those who cultivate the land.

Asked which of the pre-election platforms he approved of fully Minister Pandov said: "Naturally, the one of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. Though it doesn't either explain quite clearly the ways for realization of the agrarian reform."

Minister Pandov indicated that foodstuff and wine products produced in the period January-April this year were 276 million leva less than this kind of production turned out in the same period last year.

Deutsche Bank Official on Nation's Foreign Debt

AU0405105190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 2 May p 3

[Report on interview with Hans Detmar, "member of the Deutsche Bank Public Relations Department," by DUMA correspondent Dimitur Khadzhinikolov in Bonn on 1 May: "Our Foreign Trade Bank Can Catch Its Breath"]

[Text] Bonn, 1 May—It was recently reported in the media that Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank representatives met members of a special "Banking Advisory Committee" in Frankfurt am Main in connection with efforts to solve the problem of paying back our foreign debt. As we learned from banking circles in the FRG these days, a second meeting of this kind is presumably scheduled to take place in London at the beginning of June. We interviewed Mr. Hans Detmar, from the Deutsche Bank Public Relations Department, for further information on this subject.

[Khadzhinikolov] Can you describe the functions of your bank in this committee?

[Detmar] Our bank is the coordinator, which means that it proposes solutions, and plays the role of a consultant for the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank in this particular case. Your bank asked us to act as coordinator in establishing the advisory committee. Our task is to prepare proposals that are expected to be jointly discussed by all bank creditors and by the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank, so that the problem of payments may be resolved. There is no question of granting new credits for the time being, and if such credits should be granted, they should be considered as independent actions of individual banks that are not part of the committee.

The committee's first action was to examine the data submitted by the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank on its debts. The next step will be to support the Bulgarian proposal that the repayment of debts (without interest), the terms of which are elapsing within the period from the end of March 1990 to the end of June 1990, should be postponed for 90 days. This means, that if the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank has to repay the regular installment on some loan by 30 April 1990, for example, the term will be extended to 30 July 1990. Naturally, this postponed and unpaid installment of the repayment is also subject to interest.

The meaning of the committee's actions is to give your bank time to plan how to settle the question of further repayments of its debt during the 1990-1991 period. This plan should be acceptable to both sides.

The Bulgarian bank should take advantage of the respite and make efficient use of it so that it can cope with the situation, collect the necesary data, and submit a proposal on restructuring the loan payments.

[Khadzhinikolov] Which banks, in addition to Deutsche Bank, are members of the committee?

[Detmar] The committee considers it inappropriate to disclose which banks are participating in the committee since the composition is likely to change. Some banks may leave the committee, others are still expected to join. For the time being, it is sufficient to say that the majority of members are European banks.

[Khadzhinikolov] What is the amount of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank's debt toward Deutsche Bank?

[Detmar] We, at the Deutsche Bank, are not supposed to provide such data, as a matter of principle.

[Khadzhinikolov] Nevertheless, one could say that you are interested in the settlement of this problem?

[Detmar] We have been entrusted with this task by the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank and we intend to fulfill our obligations. Naturally, we are also among the debtors of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank.

[Khadzhinikolov] Are you expecting to be paid for this assignment, namely for your services as a coordinator?

[Detmar] Certainly not, considering that mutual interests are involved.

Nomenklatura Denounced For 'Expropriation'

AU0305125290 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 2 May 90 p 3

[Article by TV moderator Kevor Kevorkyan: "To Have and Have Not"]

[Text] Now that everyone knows what I do not possess, let me say something about my financial assets.

I am repaying a 17,000-leva loan for our apartment, but this is normal. Our children, who were born under socialism, will certainly remember us at least every month when the installments they will be paying back for us are due, and they will have to do this for many years after our deaths.

There is even more: We should have a precise idea of what happened and what is still happening to the Bulgarian people over the last 45 years. I know how their energies and talents were wasted in the name of an illusion and for the sake of consolidating the power and personal wealth of the new rulers. This was accomplished by methods of total dictatorship, including verbal terror. It is true that numerous fighters retired to their simple peasant huts after 9 September 1944, but others installed themselves in other people's homes without any scruples whatsoever, and this was the beginning of the "expropriation" that was pursued under different guises over the last decades. The worst thing about it was the moral attitude that permitted such things and that subsequently justified every arbitrary act. The most recent leaders were simply obliged to go on with the game. However, the end of such games has come....

I am ready to compare our incomes and estates with those of any high-ranking member of the nomenklatura. It seems to me that, sometimes, I have really earned no less than some former Politburo members—but I can only envy their financial genius that permitted them to build mansions that people of my profession could only dream of.

I do not envy rich people in general, however, it is my conviction that the state cannot be rich while the nation is poor. The opposite statement was one of the greatest lies of socialism that we were building under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Even the honestly earned wages of the ordinary citizens were paid in useless money that became worthless pieces of paper thanks to that kind of socialism. As a result of this, our people do not even have the opportunity to lead a halfway decent life.

Let us see what the people who have played a role in the high-ranking party and state bodies from 1944 to the present possess and what they did with our common fate—let us see what they and their relatives really own? Can all of them sleep peacefully?

Such data would provide a realistic picture of the real class division in our country. This is a fact.

I know that I will evoke the mortal hatred of some people in saying so, but so what.

Risk of Explosion in Varna Port Examined

AU0305171390 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 18, 30 Apr 90 pp 2, 3

[Ivan Rachev article: "With a Bomb Ticking Away in Our Midst"]

[Text] Exactly three-and-a-half years ago, the heart of our chemical industry became the epicenter of an accident at the chlorine, vinyl chloride, and polyvinyl chloride plant, which was serious for a country of Bulgaria's size. There was great destruction, human casualties, and hundreds of homes went into mourning. The causes of the accident were established, but the lessons from it have still not been drawn.

"Early on 1 November, an explosion swept away two of the workshops of the chlorine, vinyl chloride, and polyvinyl chloride plant. In the plant's conference room, cards bearing the names of those taking part in the meeting had been set out on the table.... Together with the fragments of the wall panels and the remnants of the expensive imported equipment, the whirlwind caused by the explosion also carried away these cards. If the fire had reached the chlorine tanks, the consequences would have been much more dangerous...."

This was how my colleague Georgi Grozdev began his on-the-spot report from the site of the accident, entitled: "Devnya: Five Months Later" (POGLED No. 12, 23 Mar 87). Today we return again to the site of the tragedy, not in order to find out the extent to which the damage has been repaired or how those responsible have been punished, but principally because of the conclusion of the cited article, which clearly revealed the cause that led to the inevitable explosion:

"Recently a leak appeared in an installation in the workshops of another plant at Devnya. If this had happened before the accident, production would not have been halted because of the need to fulfill the plan. Is it really necessary to pay such a high price to learn the truth in the future? Restructuring begins at the point where we stop chasing after plan fulfillment with all one's strength and at any price...."

However, let us set off on our trail.

At the end of 1988, an industrial installation for the production of dichloroethane came into operation at the "Polikhim" Company in Devnya, and at the start of the following year active export operations began from the Varna West Port, using chemical tankers. "Provisional Measures for the Safe Loading of Chemical Tankers With Dichloroethane at Varna West Port" were drawn up. These were coordinated with all the interested authorities, and at the top obtained the signatures of the minister of interior affairs (then Dimitur Stoyanov) and the minister of transport (Georgi Tanev). These regulations, while reflecting all the efforts of the responsible bodies to ensure the safety of operations, also permitted two compromises. First, they approved a quay—which had nothing in common with the specific operations and which meets hardly any of the safety measures applied throughout the world—to be used as a terminal for loading such dangerous chemicals, and, second, they allowed the dichloroethane to be loaded using a so-called "soft pipe," which is mounted on the installation immediately before the tanker enters port.

The second "start" of our journey was 23 January 1990, when the State Inspectorate of Navigation in Varna received a telex from Khimimport that notified all interested parties of the arrival of the tanker "Adria," sailing under a Panamanian flag. The vessel was to take on 3,000 tonnes of dichloroethane. All the final deadlines for using the "soft pipe" had long ago expired, so that it was quite natural that the telex should be endorsed with an order by Captain Al. Purvanov, Varna State Inspectorate of Navigation deputy chief, prohibiting the tanker to enter the port. One should add that, under the Code of Commercial Navigation and the "Binding Instructions of the State Inspectorate of Navigation" that are based on this code, the inspectorate offices are the only bodies that determine whether a given vessel may enter or leave a particular Bulgarian port.

"Polikhim" reacted immediately, in the form of an urgent request to the leadership of the Ministry of Transport to lift the ban, and the request was met the very same day, 23 January, by the first deputy minister of transport. At the end of the message, we read the following incredible words: "In connection with your request to extend the deadline for using a soft loading

pipe for dichloroethane, we inform you that we have no objection to the tanker 'Adria' being accepted for loading on this one occasion and completely at your responsibility." The signature is indecipherable, but is not needed, because the name of the company is enough.

As far as the categorical restriction "on this one occasion" is concerned, this lasted only one month, because on 19 February the tanker "Obrovats," sailing under a Yugoslav flag, appeared on the horizon and asked permission to enter port to load a further 3,000 tonnes of dichloroethane. Once again the State Inspectorate of Navigation refused permission for the tanker to enter port (and kept it waiting for almost 36 hours), and once again "Polikhim" reacted with lightning speed. However, this time the company was in the line of fire, because this was a second violation. "Polikhim" General Director Ivan Dimitrov submitted a memorandum setting out even more weighty arguments in favor of a further exception, namely that 16 tankers had already been loaded without accident (by luck), that similar soft hoses were used in other developed countries, such as Japan (where, however, all other safety regulations are complied with), and third (and most important in the whole chain of irresponsibility), that dichloroethane sells very well in the international market. This was followed by the usual promise that "Polikhim" would bear complete responsibility for any accident.

The memorandum in question was submitted to the Council of Ministers on 19 February, and on the following day the State Inspectorate of Navigation received a message from the Ministry of Transport (again with an indecipherable signature) notifying them that Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Chudomir Aleksandrov had not only permitted the tanker "Obrovats" to be loaded, but also had extended the deadline for using the "soft pipe" until the end of May. This in fact was the main purpose of the memorandum, which also stated that a contract had been signed with Mannesmann of the FRG for the supply and installation of a "hard pipe."

We visited Varna West Port at the end of April, but did not hear any mention of any imported equipment or see any signs of intense activity to render the terminal safe. Everything was as before; the crane that traverses the terminal (which is also unthinkable in developed countries) was ready to set off, while the specialists were mainly worrying about the construction of a specialized quay for dangerous cargo. It turned out that the proposed site for this quay also does not meet safety requirements. The quay is scheduled to be completed by the end of next year, at a cost of tens of millions of leva, but no one believes that it will be finished, at least within the next five to eight years.

This is all very well, but why all the panic? A logical question.

According to international standards, dichloroethane is an inflammable liquid, which according to the International Code for Dangerous Cargoes has an ignition temperature of nine degrees Centigrade and forms an explosive mixture with air at concentrations between 6.2 and 15.9 percent. In other words, it must be handled with care. Dichloroethane vapors irritate mucous membranes, are highly toxic, and have paralytic and narcotic effects. For all those who have undergone military training and been through the barracks, we will add that the combustion of dichloroethane produces large amounts of phosgene, which is classified among the most dangerous toxic agent used in war. Furthermore, dichloroethane is included in the international list of agents in the group that in the form of unrestricted vapors may cause catastrophic explosions.

What would happen if there were an accident? The entire port complex and the neighboring residential areas, almost the whole of valley containing our big chemical plants, the Sofia-Varna main railway line, and heaven knows what else would go up in the air, to put it mildly. It would be impossible to do anything about the damaged tanker, because according to regulations it should be towed out to open sea. In the conditions prevailing at the Varna West and Varna Ports this is also impossible, since the journey would take at least an hour and a half and the ship would pass by residential areas, the ferry complex, the densely populated districts of Varna, and the immense storage depot of the "Petrol" Company.

Truly a frightening picture, and we can only knock on wood. However, what is even more terrible is the thoughtless disregard for this possible situation. What is the real reason for this?

Prague Demonstration Over Lithuania 3 May

LD0305183290 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] A demonstration demanding the restoration of Lithuanian independence took place in Wenceslas Square in Prague on 3 May. About 1,000 participants recalled the history of the Baltic republics and condemned the violent act of incorporating Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia into the Soviet Union in 1940 as well as the present course taken by the Soviet Union against Lithuania. The demonstrators demanded that the federal government recognize Lithuania's independence.

Havel Cables Greetings to Latvia 3 May

LD0405101990 Prague CTK in English 0903 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Prague May 4 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel sent Thursday [3 May] the following telegram of greetings to Latvia: "I wish you many successes in the significant talks of your freely elected parliament about the democratic orientation of the further development in your country."

Bulgaria's Lukanov Meets With Officials

LD0305195690 Prague CTK in English 1617 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Prague May 3 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa and his Bulgarian counterpart Andrey Lukanov met here today for tete-a-tete talks without interpreters.

After nearly one hour, they were joined by Czechoslovak minister of agriculture and food and chairman of the Czecho-Slovak-Bulgarian committee for economic and scientific-technological cooperation Oldrich Bursky, Czechoslovak minister of metallurgy, engineering and electrical engineering Slavomir Stracar and Czechoslovak government experts in economic cooperation with foreign countries.

The Bulgarian side was represented by Bulgarian minister for external economic relations and chairman of the Bulgarian part of the Czechoslovak-Bulgarian committee for economic and scientific- technological cooperation Petr bashikarov, minister of industry and technology Krustyu Stanilov and others.

News Conference on Calfa-Lukanov Talks

LD0305211990 Prague CTK in English 2010 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Prague May 3 (CTK)—Bulgarian Premier Andrey Lukanov today called for new forms and methods of cooperation that would be in harmony with the present economic and political reforms in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

Speaking at a press conference after Czechoslovak-Bulgarian talks, Andrey Lukanov stressed that similar social changes, the aim of which is democratic society developing the economy on the principles of market economy, take place in both countries.

Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa specified the spheres which were discussed at the talks. One of them was the liquidation of the high Czechslovak assets, which are to reach about 100 million roubles at the end of this year. These means should be invested into tourism in Bulgaria so that conditions for Czechoslovak tourists may improve. Also discussed were rates of exchange, which should change by the end of June.

Substantially changed will also be the forms of economic cooperation, Marian Calfa said. From now on enterprises will set the content and extent of relations in the economic sphere while cooperation of the governments will concern generally political aspects.

Further on News Conference

LD0405084890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0200 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Marian Calfa and Andrey Lukanov, the Czechoslovak and Bulgarian premiers, acquainted newsmen yesterday with the results of their talks. They noted that the meeting took place at an important and crucial time in the development of the two countris.

On prospects for mutual contacts Andrey Lukanov said that the two countries intend to look for new forms and methods of developing cooperation, which would be in keeping with the overall direction of economic and political reforms.

Marian Calfa reported on the problems of the exchange rates of the currencies of the two countries and Czechoslovakia's positive balance in its trade with Bulgaria. He said that further work on all questions which were discussed will be carried out by the Czechoslovak-Bulgarian economic and scientific and technical cooperation committee.

In conclusion, the premiers said that their one-to-one talks concerned in particular the development of the political situation. Marian Calfa hosted a gala dinner in honor of his guest in the Hrzan Palace in Prague last night.

Havel, Lukanov Discuss Elections, Ties

LD0405111190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] President Vaclav Havel received at Prague Castle on 4 May Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria. They exchanged views on problems relating to the organization of the upcoming parliamentary elections in the two countries.

The Bulgarian premier briefed Vaclav Havel on relations between the reformed Communist Party of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian Political opposition. Vaclav Havel and Andrey Lukanov expressed the wish that future bilateral

relations will develop according to the principles of a new and effective partnership.

Andrey Lukanov conveyed to the Czechoslovak president an official invitation from Petur Mladenov, the Bulgarian president, to visit Bulgaria. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. However, the date of the visit has so far not been set.

Japanese Foreign Minister Pays Official Visit

LD0205150490 Prague CTK in English 1302 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Prague May 2 (CTK)—Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama arrived here for a visit today at the invitation of Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier.

The Czechoslovak-Japanese relations date back to the foundation of the independent Czechoslovak state in 1918. The current two-day visit of Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama will certainly contribute to their further expansion.

In the past few days Czechoslovakia has already suggested to Japan how to deepen trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation. Now the ministers are expected to discuss also an agreement on the protection of investments which is especially significant in the current stage of Czechoslovakia's opening up to the world. They will also deal with the simplification of visa formalities, Japan's participation in the restoration of Czechoslovak economy and the development of political relations between the two countries.

The current contacts are based especially on economic, scientific and technological cooperation.

Trade exchange is realized on the basis of a treaty of 1959. In spite of the fact that Czechoslovakia's exports to Japan have been formally liberalized, they are still impeded e.g. by specific medical or safety regulations. The mutual exchange of goods in 1988 was worth 172.3 million U.S. dollars while the value of Czechoslovak exports was 89.8 millions dollars.

The current visit of the chief of Japan's diplomacy is taking place seven years after the visit of a Czechoslovak delegation, led by the then Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, to Japan and 12 years after the visit of former Japanese Foreign Minister Sunae Sonoda to Prague.

Dienstbier Receives Nakayama

LD0205183290 Prague CTK in English 1728 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Prague May 2 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and his Japanese counterpart Taro Nakayama today informed each other of important political changes in Europe and the world in general and of their governments' stands on these changes.

Jiri Dienstbier explained the Japanese guest the Czechoslovak proposal to establish a European security commission.

Speaking about bilateral relations, the ministers confirmed the two countries' readiness to conduct a political dialogue and extend economic and scientific-technological cooperation concerning for instance the exchange of technical information, training experts and elaboration of an agreement on the protection and support of investments.

The two representatives agreed on the usefulness of mutual consultations at the level of ministers and on renewal of work of a mixed Czechoslovak-Japanese government commission. They expressed the willingness to simplify the two countries' visa relations and support the preparation of cultural weeks of Japan in Czechoslovakia and of Czechoslovakia in Japan due to take place in the years 1990 and 1991.

Taro Nakayama invited Jiri Dienstbier to visit Japan.

Calfa, Nakayama Discuss Cooperation

LD0205205490 Prague CTK in English 1800 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Prague May 2 (CTK)—Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama today [2 May] informed Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa of Japan's readiness to help Czechoslovakia reconstruct its economy and develop its technological base in new conditions.

The Czechoslovak needs will be considered by a delegation of Japanese experts that will arrive in Czechoslovakia this month.

Marian Calfa welcomed the Japanese offer and emphasized especially the need of assistance in the sphere of training executives. As regards top technologies, he confirmed the readiness of the Czechoslovak Government to give guarantees if necessary that the technologies will be used exclusively under agreed conditions, including a guarantee that they will not cross our borders.

Marian Calfa said that Czechoslovakia is willing to offer Japan to sign immediately an agreement on mutual protection of investments and transfer of profits, which was welcomed by the Japanese minister who expressed readiness to start proper negotiations.

As regards Czechoslovakia's proposal to establish a direct air route between the two countries, Taro Nakayama recommended to use at first at least extraordinary chartered flights due to the present overburdening of Japanese international airports. Also considered will be the possibility that the existing lines between Japan and Europe would add stop-overs in Prague.

Dlouhy, Nakayama View Modernizing Industry

LD0305105490 Prague CTK in English 0953 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Prague May 3 (CTK)—The possibilities of deepening Czechoslovak-Japanese economic links with emphasis on utilizing advanced Japanese technology for modernizing Czechoslovak industry. This was one of the issues discussed by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Comission Vladimir Dlouhy and Japanese Foreign Ministery Taro Nakayama here today.

Vladimir Dlouhy also informed Minister Nakayama, who arrived in Czechoslovakia yesterday [2 May], of the present state of the Czechoslovak economy.

Nakayama Ends Visit, Departs

LD0305200390 Prague CTK in English 1629 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Prague May 3 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama today called for the development of relations with Czechoslovakia and Japan.

They discussed cooperation in health care, sport and culture and dealt also with the present development in Europe. The Czechoslovak president informed the Japanese guest of his idea about future European integration and a European security system.

Also present were Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and the president's advisers Vera Caslavska and Sasa Vondra.

Earlier today, the Japanese minister was recieved by chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Alexander Dubcek, who informed him of the situation in the country and the parliament. He said that at present, the parliament discusses and approves new laws that are to create conditions for a transition from centralist management to the use of market mechanisms of the national economy and various forms of undertaking, which should give an impetus to Czechoslovak and foreign entrepreneurs from the whole world for the benefit of society.

The Japanese minister and his entourage then ended their two-day visit to Czechoslovakia and left Prague.

U.S. Friendship Society First Meeting 29 Apr

AU0405103090 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 2 May 90 p 4

[CTK report: "President of the Society of Friends of the United States: S. Devaty"]

[Text] The first meeting of the Council of the Society of Friends of the United States was held in Prague on Sunday [29 April]. The meeting elected the Committee of the Society of Friends of the United States. The committee is headed by President V. Devaty from Zlin and Vice President M. Ruzicka from Brno. Representatives of the society's more than 100 branches, who represented the society's approximately 15,000 members, heard a report on the society's activity and were briefed on existing possibilities of contacts with the United States.

Memorials to U.S. Soldiers Unveiled

AU0305201290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Apr 90 p 3

[CTK report: "To the Memory of U.S. Soldiers Killed in Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] Marianske Lazne—On Thursday [26 April], U.S. Ambassador Shirley Temple-Black visited West Bohemian districts. The reason for her visit is the participation in the celebrations marking the 45th anniversary of the liberation by the U.S. Army. She laid flowers at the original 1945 foundation stone in the orchards by the Colonnade in Marianske Lazne. Next, she unveiled a memorial plaque in honor of the liberation of Tachov by the U.S. Army on 3 May 1945.

On the same day, the U.S. ambassador took part in the unveiling of a monument to the U.S. Army in Karlovy Vary. The liberation of this region of our homeland in May 1945 cost 775 U.S. soldiers their lives.

Outcome of Disarmament Talks Said Disappointing

AU0305112390 Prague PRACE in Czech 28 Apr p 4

[Ladislav Bognar commentary: "Too Little Optimism; Difficulties at the Disarmament Talks as Well as at the International Open Skies Conference"]

[Text] These days, world public attention is focused on the Austrian and Hungarian capitals, where extremely significant disarmament talks are taking place aimed at strengthening mutual trust between Warsaw Pact states and the NATO. The news arriving from Vienna and Budapest is, however, more skeptical than encouraging.

On Thursday [26 April], the sixth successive round of negotiations of the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO member states ended in Vienna's Hofburg without specific results. The April meeting in Washington between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze did not contribute the political impetus needed to overcome the controversies surrounding the issues of air forces and the number of troops in Central Europe. Even the assumption that this round would finally bring an agreement on the reduction of tank troops, combat helicopters, and combat vehicles did not materialize. Everything indicates that the negotiations are at an impasse. It seems that the political representatives will again have to make their contribution to overcome this impasse and to successfully conclude the Vienna talks on the number of troops and conventional arms. Some of the problems discussed transcend the military sphere and enter the sphere of

politics, and they are not within the competence of the delegations meeting in Vienna. Therefore, a lot is expected from the extraordinary meeting of the NATO foreign affairs ministers, which will take place in Brussels on 3 May. Representatives of 16 countries of this military political bloc will deal here—in addition to the unification of both German states and the developments in Central and Eastern Europe—with the proceedings of the Vienna disarmament talks.

The situation in Budapest, where the open skies conference is taking place, is not any better. Its success would mean a significant step toward an agreement on the control of airspace between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, an improvement in the present system monitoring compliance with disarmament agreements, and thereby it would also mean an increased mutual trust.

Unfortunately, it is obvious today that the conference participants will not manage to draft the closing statement by 12 May, when the ministers of foreign affairs of both blocs were supposed to sign it. The head of the U.S. delegation was reported to have said that it could still be approved this year. The Soviet representative also expressed doubts regarding its drafting by the May deadline.

After the Soviet Union's agreement on Thursday that reconnaissance planes will be equipped with sensitive instruments, it seems that the stumbling block will be the arguments about the number of control flights rather than technical problems. While the United States proposes 50 flights annually, the Soviet Union insists on 15 and adds the clause that these flights would not take place over some off-limit regions in its territory. Moreover, the possibility cannot be excluded that the unexpected Soviet suggestion that some neutral and nonaligned countries take part in the proceedings will lead to further complications in the already difficult talks.

The only bright point in the otherwise skeptical disarmament week is no doubt the news that the May meeting of the NATO member states in Canada will probably bring to an end the discussion about the modernization of short-range nuclear systems and will decide on the withdrawal of some of the nuclear artillery charges from our continent.

Some Western representatives realize that a utilization of this arms system with a range of up to 500 km would cause problems in connection with the democratic changes in the countries of Central and East Europe. FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher expressed this issue very well: "One can hardly imagine that tactical nuclear missiles aimed at the GDR, democratic Poland, or democratic Czechoslovakia would be deployed in the middle of nineties. The democratic movement in these countries means also an increase in our own safety."

New Generals Promoted, Appointed 3 May

LD0305150490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] In the presence of President Vaclav Havel, new generals of the Czechoslovak Army were promoted and appointed today [3 May], on the eve of the celebrations of the liberation of Czechoslovakia.

Minister of National Defense Miroslav Vacek was promoted to the rank of army general; (Antonin Slima), (Jindrich Andrejcak), (Rudolf Duchacek), (Josef Ferenc), and (Ladislav Tomecek) were given the rank of lieutenant general.

The rank of general was also returned to soldiers who were stripped of it for political reasons in the 1950's and after 1968. Vaclav Prchlik, Ludvik Krejci, Rudolf Smetanka, (Josef Marek), and Karel Mares were posthumously promoted. The only survivor among the promoted, Oldrich Tichy, was present at the declaration of the order. Other colonels in reserve were appointed to the rank of retired major-general.

Third New Mayor for Brno This Year

AU0305201090 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 29 Apr 90 p 1

["(JH)"-signed report: "A Third Mayor"]

[Text] Brno—Deputies in the City of Brno National Committee needed exactly six hours to decide who would become Brno's third mayor this year. Yesterday's extraordinary National Committee session also highlighted the continuing disputes characterizing the city's political and social life. At the start of proceedings, Dr. Alena Schauerova (Civic Forum), the current deputy mayor, removed herself from the candidate list; she justified her decision by citing the indiscriminate attacks made against her and her family. When no choice had been made between the remaining two candidates in the second round of secret voting, Engineer Jan Sykora, candidate of sciences, a candidate for the club of deputies, withdrew. The only candidate, Pavel Podsednik, was then elected in the third round by a tight majority. The 58-year- old Czechoslovak Socialist Party deputy is the son of Josef Podsednik, a postwar mayor of Brno, who held the post of the city's leading citizen until 26 February 1948.

Security Corps Members Sentenced for Beatings

LD0305170690 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] The district military court in Prague ended the main proceedings in Prague district 1 today [3 May] against seven members of the National Security Corps from the local public security department in Benediktska Street.

During the night from the 17 to 18 November last year, at the local public security department in Benediktska

Street, they repeatedly beat with truncheons and without cause the arrested participants in the student demonstration, or allowed this to happen.

The district military court found them guilty of the crime of abusing the powers of a public servant—with one exception where the guilt was not established. Two of the accused were sentenced to 16 and 12 months of imprisonment; the other four were given suspended sentences of 10 and six months. Neither the prosecutor nor the accused have appealed the sentence so far.

Vacek, Miller Discuss Troops, Ethnic Clashes

LD0305214490 Prague CTK in English 2119 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Prague May 3 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Minister Miroslav Vacek said today [3 May] that the training of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory cannot be restricted, and stressed that transfers of military hardware will be discussed beforehand with respective national committees (bodies of local administration).

Reacting to questions put to him at the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly session, Minister Vacek said the last military exercises of the Czechoslovak and Soviet Armies were held in March, with Soviet troops taking part symbolically. Czechoslovakia remained a Warsaw Pact member and is thus obliged to respect some measures, Vacek said, adding he saw no reason why Soviet troops should receive any new technology.

Referring to the records on weapons of the people's militia, the Communist Party's armed force now abolished, Minister Vacek stated that according to Defence Ministry records 71,000 machine-guns and 20,000 pistols have been returned.

In his detailed answer regarding the life of Romanies, Federal Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Petr Miller said there were altogether 400,000 of them living in Czechoslovakia. Annually 45 million crowns are spent to improve their living conditions.

Commenting on the events of the past few days when ministry officials visited North Bohemia, where skinheads clashed with gypsies, Minister Miller said contacts with skinheads had revealed clearly racist trends. He said this is clearly a matter to be settled by the Interior Ministry and a comprehensive solution should be ensured by a government committee.

Gypsies Seek Protection From CPCZ

AU0305120190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Apr 90 p 2

[Unattributed report from the "From the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Press Service" column]

[Text] V. Mohorita, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, sent a letter to M. Calfa, premier of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, after he was visited by Romanies from North Bohemia and was asked for the CPCZ's assistance. In the letter, V. Mohorita voiced protest against manifestations of racial hatred, which are incompatible with the principles of democracy, law, and justice. He asked M. Calfa to take measures without delay to prevent possible tragedies, restore order in a number of our cities, and return peace and a life without fear to thousands of families.

Mohorita Denies Links with Secret Service

AU0305122590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Apr 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, by unidentified RUDE PRAVO correspondent; place and date not given: "I Do Not Have a Thick Skin"—opening paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] In recent days and weeks, RUDE PRAVO and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee have been receiving many letters concerning Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, which is why we asked him for an interview.

[RUDE PRAVO] The mass media are paying considerable attention to you....

[Mohorita] This is not abnormal, given the position I occupy.

[RUDE PRAVO] Does it mean that what the media writes about you leaves you indifferent?

[Mohorita] Definitely not. I certainly do not have a thick skin, even though some people say otherwise. I have no intention of concealing the fact that personal criticism has an impact on me. I react to it like any normal human being. This does not mean that I want to deny anyone the right to express his view.

[RUDE PRAVO] People say that politicians must grow accustomed to anything....

[Mohorita] Well, I am probably not one of such politicians.

[RUDE PRAVO] Can we ask unpleasant questions?

[Mohorita] Go ahead.

[RUDE PRAVO] What is your view today of the events in which you took part at the ball in the Railwaymen's Central House of Culture 12 years ago [when Mohorita assisted the State Security in the arrest of several Charter 77 activists, including Vaclav Havel, and subsequently testified against them]?

[Mohorita] Above all, I see these things differently now.

[RUDE PRAVO] ??? [as published]

[Mohorita] A number of my views have changed.

[RUDE PRAVO] What was the reason for this change? 17 November?

[Mohorita] No. I had come to understand many things when I had the opportunity to follow from close-range the activity and thinking of the former party leadership and got to know the results achieved. I must admit that I have had to abandon many positions which I had formerly assumed to be eternal truths. However, I must also say that this was not easy and painless.

[RUDE PRAVO] Why?

[Mohorita] Because not only I but a large portion of my generation were brought up to take for granted that the party is always right, that the ideals of socialism are given once and for all and are unchangeable, and that everyone who questions them is an enemy, a subversive, a reactionary element.

[RUDE PRAVO] If you are not with us, you are against us....

[Mohorita] Exactly. It was simple, just as simple as our notion of the future of the world. On the other hand, I must say that these convictions were far from being as firm as the former party ideologues assumed. You cannot live on slogans for long. Despite our very rigid ideological upbringing, even we, including myself, could not fail to ask questions that cast doubt on the validity of the positions held then. I was among those who uttered them aloud long before 17 November, and it is natural that by this I did not gain big points in my favor with the then party rulers. I made no secret of my criticism of the increasingly repressive actions against the opposition and of my view that these issues cannot be dealt with by means of power.

[RUDE PRAVO] You are being accused of cooperation with the State Security....

[Mohorita] This is nonsense. I have never been an employee, agent, or collaborator of the State Security or any other similar organization at home or abroad. That ball was the only incident of this type in my life.

[RUDE PRAVO] Tell us honestly. You are getting many letters, including unpleasant ones. How do you react to them?

[Mohorita] I get many letters every day expressing support, support that is often almost moving, but I also get some threatening physical liquidation. Perish with your whole family. They do not make pleasant reading. I do not deny that at times I must fight off feelings of faintheartedness and depression. I have no ambition to play the hero. In the last few weeks I have learned more about the ability of people to hate one another than in my entire life. However, it always invigorates me in such moments of weakness when I go to see my father and have him tell me what he had to go through during his several years of imprisonment in the "Gulag Archipelago." The verdict against him was pronounced in the name of Stalin and Beriya.

[RUDE PRAVO] Do you not ever think that it would be easier to leave politics and lead a normal life?

[Mohorita] Certainly. There are moments when I would leave immediately and would feel tremendous relief. I have never been someone who longs for honors, functions, power, and property. To the great chagrin of those who constantly screen my past, I have never enjoyed any privileges, and I do not own a car or a house in the country.... I have always wanted to lead a normal life, and I have always regarded work for the people as the purpose of my life. Of course, I am no saint without mistakes and deficiencies. I am one of the many who love their country and like to have good people around themselves.

However, life confronts me with a situation today when I cannot think just of myself. Thousands of people have invested their trust in me. How could I live if I disappointed them? I can leave only after the revival of the party is completed. Only party members can decide my future work.

[RUDE PRAVO] What role can the past, including that railwaymen's ball, play in your further political activity?

[Mohorita] The past cannot be erased. If you do not have a thick skin, it will always speak to you, often unpleasantly, whether you want it to or not. I have no illusion that even years from now one will keep reminding me of that. I would only like to say that I will never be one of those who search around in archives for arguments against their political adversaries. Nor do I intend to capitalize on the fact that, unlike some people who appeal to my conscience today, I was only a small child in the fifties. The last few weeks have reaffirmed my conviction that people change and that inside every one of us there can be much good and much evil because this is what we are like and how we live our lives.

Civic Commissions To Purge Interior Ministry

AU0305112990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Apr 90 p 3

[CTK report: "Controversy Over Conception"]

[Text] Prague—"We believe that neither one person nor a small team can undertake the purge of the Security components," said Jan Kozlik, deputy chairman of the Central Civic Commission [in charge of Interior Ministry screenings], in the introduction to Friday's [27 April] meeting of the chairmen of civic commissions from all regions of the republic. "Civic commissions represent the only proper method, despite Interior Minister Richard Sacher's casting doubt on their competence." Deputy Ladislav Lis, chairman of the Defense and Security Committee of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic [CSFR] Federal Assembly People's Chamber, who also took part in the meeting, informed those present of the proceedings of the Defense and

Security Committees of both chambers of the parliament. He stressed that the conflict between the committees and the Federal Ministry of Interior is not a conflict between two political adversaries (Civic Forum and Czechoslovak People's Party), but a conceptual conflict. Among those present was also Jan Ruml, the new CSFR deputy minister of interior.

Klaus Discusses Economic Reforms, Progress

AU0405103390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Apr 90 pp 1,5

[Report on interview with Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus by Zdenek Hoffmann and Pavel Paral; place and date not given: "Shares for Everyone?"]

[Text] What will happen to our economy during the reform process, at the beginning of which we are now? How will the changes affect our people? These are the questions which everyone is interested in, and this is what we have asked Vaclav Klaus, Czech and Slovak Federative Republic finance minister, whose name is most frequently mentioned in connection with the reforms.

[RUDE PRAVO] A solution to price-related questions is apparently the first necessary step to be taken at the beginning of the reform process. What is your opinion?

[Klaus] I would not say that price changes must be made as the first step. I would not be recommending price changes if they were not a part of comprehensive economic measures, even if these changes are absolutely necessary and unavoidable. The comprehensive measures include four groups of provisions. First, a very restrictive monetary and finance policy must curb inflation pressures. Without this, the required price changes cannot be considered, because without this policy rapid inflation could occur. The second step is to define ownership relations and to get rid of today's unclear and bland definition of socialist, social, or state ownership. We must get rid of the conjecture that everyone owns everything, or, in other words, that no one owns anything. The third part of the reform process involves all kinds of adjustments to retail, wholesale, and procurement prices, including exchange rates, wages, interest, etc. The fourth part is the aspect of the reform process related to foreign countries.

[RUDE PRAVO] We want market prices but we do not have market conditions....

[Klaus] That is not true. Our market is a low-quality and deformed market, yet it is still a market. The assumption that the State Planning Commission dominated our past economic system is not true either; large enterprises did. These enterprises forced their will upon the State Planning Commission. This caused strong market deformities. It was a market economy of the worst kind. We have to improve it by measures leading to stability as well as by adjusting prices.

[RUDE PRAVO] We have heard in the Federal Assembly that as of 1993 the government wants to introduce a value-added tax. This would require, however, that the retail price issue be solved by then. According to Minister Dvorak, this question will be solved by 1992. Is this realistic?

[Klaus] The question regarding retail pricing must be solved by the end of this year.

[RUDE PRAVO] The government is sometimes criticized for not discussing the reform process—which concerns all of society—with the public. What is your opinion?

[Klaus] It is impossible to put some questions to a vote. The referenda conducted in Poland have proved this. Legal questions should be discussed—I am in favor of it—but discussion about the reformist steps would be very complex and would lead nowhere.

[RUDE PRAVO] There are trade unions here, however....

[Klaus] The trade unions must be established first. Today's representatives of the trade unions think that trade unions have been established already. This is not true, only the top leaders have been established and new functionaries, but no new trade unions within enterprises or factories. So far, only the structure that has been established on the initiative of some top representatives exists. But we will see.

[RUDE PRAVO] It is simpler to compile an anti-inflationary budget than to achieve a noninflationary final balance. Are you not afraid that the drop in production at the beginning of this year—the destruction of the old and building of the new—will endanger your anti-inflationary efforts?

[Klaus] We have left some space for manipulation in the budget, and we reserve the right, in case of slow asset formation, to curb expenses, too. On the other hand, we have to analyze the situation leading to the drop in production. We already have some figures available, but these figures are only a kind of data to follow up on the previous concept of industry and civil engineering. We do not know if the statistics include private initiative and services, which are developing today. It is, therefore, questionable whether a drop is occurring at all.

[RUDE PRAVO] You are stressing the importance of transforming the economy into a different economic system. Do you not believe that this process will occur at the expense of economic growth? If you want to switch from a bicycle to a Mercedes, you have to stop, step down, switch, and accelerate again.

[Klaus] Yes, this is a possible example. It is more convenient to say, however, that we are experiencing an imbalance in the economy and that we want to switch to a balanced one. This imbalance has an inflationary character. This is why we have to curb demand. The short-lived recovery of economic growth is not, and

cannot be, our goal. Moreover, such recovery is difficult to put in practice and such recovery would provide support for inflation.

[RUDE PRAVO] By abolishing subsidies you are taking resources away from the enterprises....

[Klaus] Not the resources, but a small part of subsidies only.

[RUDE PRAVO] How is the enterprise, which will become poorer, supposed to react? Will it become an active entrepreneur?

[Klaus] An enterprise must know how to react to the changing economic environment. In the event that we keep the subsidy system, then we have to abstain from thinking of economic reform. We could agree that we will keep the old economic system. However, there is no other alternative if we want to have a prosperous economy.

[RUDE PRAVO] Do you realize that these harsh measures will affect large collectives—enterprises, factories, cities, and settlements, and not only sloppy and lazy people, but industrious and honest working people—namely, workers. Serious social problems may arise....

[Klaus] This is the wrong angle from which to perceive this problem. In the past there were serious and dramatic problems with low sales, low productivity, and the low rentability of many enterprises in Czechoslovakia. Eventual termination of production would be a solution to the serious economic problems of such enterprises. A complex problem is, for example, that we are producing tanks which nobody wants to buy from us. There are various solutions to this. We can provide 1.5 billion from the state budget—that means taking 100 korunas out of everyone's pocket, including children. I would like to have a referendum on this. Let everyone mail a money order for 100 korunas in order to keep the factory producing.

[RUDE PRAVO] Another frequently discussed problem is privatization. It is clear today that privatization in our country will take place. You have even established an office to deal with it, but individual steps in privatization have not yet been made public. Could you tell us how—in your opinion—this process should be implemented?

[Klaus] Privatization has been a taboo topic until recently. Privatization is a new problem for all of the Czechoslovak public, for all political movements, which are searching for their own standpoint on this question. It does not matter, therefore, that not everything is clear as yet. I, speaking for myself, do not feel any impatience. Of course, the sooner we clarify ownership relations in our economy and the sooner we create rationally working economic units, the better. On the other hand, privatization has its own dynamism and its own time to develop.

We distinguish basically two phases of privatization. The first phase is the transformation of the economy into a state which would allow privatization. The way enterprises are organized today prevents them from being privatized. We have to transform these enterprises into a form of shareholder company and we will sell their shares to the public. Moreover, we intend to keep some enterprises in state ownership; for example, public service enterprises. My guess is that the state sector will represent 30 to 40 percent. This may provide a point of disagreement for some political forces. As an economist I can recommend it, but I cannot make the decision.

[RUDE PRAVO] There are fears among the public that our property would be sold abroad. Are these fears justified?

[Klaus] In no way. We stress the fact that in the first stage the shares will be sold and purchased exclusively in this country.

[RUDE PRAVO] Only those who have money will be able to buy shares; that is, those who accumulated considerable amounts of money in the past, various butchers, taxi drivers, and the like.

[Klaus] I do not dare say that bank-book deposits are undeserved, that they are this or that. This is something about which I would never dare to make a distinction. Really, I would never care whose deposit is larger as I would never dare to judge who deserves his deposit more, a miner or a farmer, a taxi driver or a finance minister, or a RUDE PRAVO correspondent.

It is more important that there is a shortage of private capital in our country; that is, the money which people would be willing to invest in shares. We know that in the saving banks there are 330 billion korunas, but we cannot anticipate that people would buy shares for all that money. People are saving for a car, a vacation, etc. They are hardly going to buy shares instead. I do not think that more than one-fifth or one-sixth of this money can be used just for the purchase of shares.

[RUDE PRAVO] How do you want to privatize then?

[Klaus] Our ministry recommends that the idea that the national property belongs to the people be implemented in the full sense of this word. We are suggesting that every Czechoslovak citizen be given—as his share in national property—something that we call a property coupon [majetkovy kupon] for which he can get one 15,000,000th part of the privatized property according to his choice.

This is our basic idea, which could avert the problem of who has or does not have sizeable savings. Such a solution would ensure the prevention of what bothers you so much, a sell-out abroad. Only then would the money game step in. Citizens will be allowed to make the decision. If they do not want the shares but a car instead, then they can sell their shares at the current price, if anyone wants to buy them.

[RUDE PRAVO] There are also the original owners. What if they claim their rights?

[Klaus] This is a privatization scheme, not a reprivatization scheme. It does not deal at all with how we would—or would not—like to compensate former

owners or their heirs for losses. It is an attempt to implement a rational economic reform process for our enterprises. If "society" decides (with its political representatives) that it wants to return something to the original owners, then I believe that compensation in the physical form of property would not be the proper course. The original owner could receive double the value of property coupons, but this is quite a different kind of question from that which we are prepared to solve. I would not recommend anything like this.

[RUDE PRAVO] The Western press often mentions that, as far as the economic reforms are concerned, there are two camps of opinion in our government.

[Klaus] I do not want to dwell on this issue. The world press analyzes it quite deeply on its front pages. It would be better to say that we are looking for a necessary agreement. We were given our positions in the government due to the political situation between 7 and 10 December. A number of us had never met before and had never heard the names of their future colleagues; we lived in different parts of the country, we met different people, and we read different books, etc. Any idea that such a government would be uniform in its thinking is erroneous, and it is necessary to publicly disavow this.

I think that the government is approaching more and more some kind of consensus. Some changes have been made which, in my opinion, have led to a unifying point of view.

It would be nonsense to want no differences in opinions. The fact that there are different opinions regarding the scope and the speed of the implementation of the reform process is quite natural. The only problem is whether we are able to come to an agreement which would bring us to effective negotiations.

Foreign Trade Minister on Outstanding Debts

LD0305214590 Prague CTK in English 2125 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Prague May 3 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak told the parliament here today that Czechoslovakia has claims worth about 120,000 million crowns in foreign countries, of which around 26,000 million are hoped to be paid.

He said that only 3,000 million crowns were paid back to Czechoslovakia last year. Czechoslovakia's "political" credits were given to Syria, Algeria, Turkey, Egypt, Libya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Ghana, Sudan, Zambia, Afghanistan, Yemen, Burma, Nicaragua, Angola, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Tanzania, Tunisia, Cyprus, the Soviet Union, Cuba and Mongolia. Czechoslovakia has stopped all supplies within these credits.

Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Armin Delong welcomed the proposal of one deputy to construct a synchrotron and a small scientific town near the borders of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Austria.

CPCZ Leading Role Deleted From Constitution

LD0305152590 Prague CTK in English 1450 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Prague May 3 (CTK)—All education and training is done in the spirit of present knowledge and in line with the principles of patriotism, humanity and democracy," states the constitutional law which amends the Constitution of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

The law was approved by the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly here today. The approved law also confirms the possibility of paid private education, and follows up the Czechoslovak parliament's decision in December 1989 to remove the clause on the Czechoslovak Communist Party's [CPCZ] leading role in society and stipulating that all education be in line with the principles of Marxism- Leninism.

Bill on Agricultural Cooperatives Passed

LD0305132490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 3 May 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We now switch over to the Federal Assembly building in Prague, where our correspondent Roman Zamboch is ready in our parliamentary studio with further information on the proceedings of the 28th joint session of the two chambers of our highst legislative body:

[Zamboch] I can tell you now that the deputies, after long debates, have approved the new billon agricultural cooperatives. Almost five hours were needed for its discussion. A considerable part of this time was taken up by a separate session of the constitutional and legal committees, which had to examine comments voiced in the debate on the government draft. Only when the lawyers ended their work could the joint session resume. Deputies first voted on the approval or rejection of changes to the draft and then on the bill itself. It seems that everything is far too lengthy and slow. [passage omitted]

The rest of the day should be much more lively here in the Federal Assembly. At present further points of the agenda are being discussed—the new bills on education—and later on in the afternoon, we expect replies from government ministers to deputies' questions.

Duputies Debate Bills on Housing, Social Security

LD0405091790 Prague CTK in English 0749 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Prague May 4 (CTK)—The discussion and approval of four laws is the main topic of the third day in the line of a five- day joint meeting of the House of the People and the House Nations of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic's Federal Assembly (parliament), which opened here today.

Deputies of the Czechoslovak parliament are discussing the bill on universities which they did not have time to

approve yesterday. The other bills are on housing, consumer, producer and other cooperative systems. Then there is the bill on sickness and social security and maternity benefit, and the bill on physical education.

At present, a Czechoslovak parliament session is in progress which began on May 2 and, excepting May 5 and 6, will last until May 8. It is the last session of the Czechoslovak supreme body before the parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia. These elections will take place on June 8 and 9, 1990.

Slovak National Council Meets, Drafts Laws

AU0305110190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Apr 90 pp 1, 4

[Antonia Vymazalova and Frantisek Melis report: "Another Stage of Activity"]

[Text] Bratislava (From our parliamentary correspondents)--At its 26th meeting yesterday, the Slovak National Council [SNR] discussed and passed four SNR laws drafted by the government and also discussed other items. The meeting was opened and chaired by its chairman Rudolf Schuster, who welcomed Milan Cic, Slovak premier, and members of the Slovak Government.

After the opening speech delivered by the SNR chairman, Deputy Anton Popovic (Public Against Violence movement) took his oath. A total of 23 deputies addressed their questions to members of the government.

Approval Process and Discussion

Vladimir Meciar, Slovak Republic interior minister, substantiated the draft SNR laws and some provisions pertaining to the law on private enterprise by citizens. Deputy Marcel Stryko (Public Against Violence movement) was a joint spokesman for both committees. Five deputies and the interior minister, who answered their questions, took part in the discussion. The SNR then passed the draft law.

Vladimir Meciar outlined the reasons for the government draft SNR National Committee law which pertains to renting and leasing nonresidential premises. A joint report by both committees was delivered by Viliam Volko (Freedom Party).

Stanislav Novak, Slovak Republic minister of health and social affairs, gave the reasons for the draft SNR laws by which the SNR law No. 106 1988 on the operation of Slovak Republic Government bodies related to social security, is being amended or completed. Bozena Kiklosova, (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) delivered a parliamentary report. The SNR passed the draft law which had been presented.

The deputies paid great attention to the government's draft SNR law on the legal profession. Ladislav Kosta, Slovak Republic minister of justice, outlined the reasons behind this law. A joint parliamentary report by both committees was presented by deputy Erika Krcova (Christian Democratic Movement). After the discussion, in which the deputies had stressed the independence of the legal profession from state organs, its privatization, and improvement in quality, the law was passed by the SNR.

The next three items on the agenda were related to the increase in SNR committees. Deputies approved the establishment and composition of the Committee for Nationalities and the Security Committee. In a secret ballot, Frantisek Mikloska (Christian Democratic Movement) was elected as chairman of the former, and Boris Zala (Public Against Violence movement) of the latter committee.

Questions and Answers

Milan Cic, Slovak Republic premier, and the members of the Slovak Government answered questions presented by the deputies. The Premier drew attention to the unhealthy developments in our economy and the difficulties during the first steps of economic reform. He said that the drop in the dynamism of economic growth during the last quarter of 1989 also continued in the first quarter of 1990. In addition to the impact caused by the imbalance in management structures, there are other negative influences, particularly the conversion of military production, the decrease in crude oil supply, the drop in coal production, and restrictions in capital investment. A drop in production by approximately 2.5 percent in the first quarter is reflected in reduced asset formation. The volume of wages increased by 4.3 percent, while profits dropped by 1.6 percent. The efficiency of exports to CEMA countries dropped. Real incomes grew more slowly than in past years—despite the growth of wages and salaries—mainly because the retail price index grew in the first quarter by 3.4 percent.

In connection with the legal organization of the state, he pointed to the draft law on the creation of a national economic strategy and constitutional law, by which the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation No. 143 of 1968 is being amended and completed. The law stresses the fact that the republic's economic strategy is being worked out and approved by the national governments and their organs. Only principal questions pertaining to the common interests of both republics are reflected in the federal economic strategy.

The last item on the agenda was discussion on other questions. A demand for the nationalization of the property of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was also heard. In this connection, Peter Weiss, Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee Executive Committee chairman, said that too much had been said already on the subject of party property. "I would be happy," he said, "if someone told me, whether the satellite parties have built their accounts by equally high membership fees per single member as did the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, what percentage from their property originates in the state coffers, and what in the purses of their members. I would also like to ask the

question: To whom—here in Slovakia—went the share from this one million-dollar sum intended to support various political parties, which was sent to Czechoslovakia from the United States, and about which we have read in press reports of 19 April. These dollars certainly did not go to our party." At the conclusion, he stressed that the only objective indicator of public opinion and its affinity toward the political parties and their representatives will be the free elections.

After the discussion, in which over 20 deputies took part, finished, yesterday's SNR meeting was dissolved.

After that, the SNR presidium met and approved the laws which had been passed the previous day.

Slovak Prosecutor General Recalled

AU0305120690 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Apr 90 p 2

[CTK report: "From the Slovak National Council Presidium"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—The Slovak National Council Presidium held a session in Bratislava yesterday. It recalled Dr. Tibor Bohm from his post as Slovak Republic prosecutor general in view of the fact that he has been appointed CSFR prosecutor general. Dr. Ladislav Cendula, Slovak Republic deputy prosecutor general, has been entrusted with heading the Prosecutor General's Office until a new Slovak Republic prosecutor general is appointed. [passage omitted]

Czech Parliament Passes New Laws 25 Apr

AU0405103690 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 27 Apr 90 p 1

["c and zem"-signed report: "About the 'Wednesday' Laws"]

[Text] Some important issues arose during the discussions at the end of Wednesday's [25 April] 26th session of the Czech National Council in Prague. The following laws, modified by the incorporation of some suggestions, were approved and will come into effect on 1 May.

The law on measures regarding the jurisdiction of individual ministries of the Czech Republic stipulates that the Ministry of Interior becomes the central organ of state administration for enterprise, because entrepreneurship concerns mostly services in the local economy, which falls under the ministry's jurisdiction.

The law of the Czech National Council on some measures related to the issuance of the Federal Assembly law on private enterprise by citizens then states that the state organ responsible for the registration of private entrepreneurs is the appropriate District National Committee according to the address of the enterprise or, as the case may be, the address of the entrepreneur. The District National Committee may also fine an entrepreneur as much as 10,000 korunas for breaking the regulations specified in the law. If the registration applicant does not have a permanent address in the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, the enterprise permit is issued by the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic. Those citizens who are at present involved in enterprise activity according to the law on domestic trade and according to the edict of the Ministry of Education and Culture on private classes in the field of arts and in the area of foreign languages must, if they wish to continue in their activities, apply for registration no later than 30 September 1990. Otherwise the previously valid permits will expire.

The law on the jurisdiction of national committees in executing the provisions of the Federal Assembly law on the leasing and renting of nonresidential premises stipulates that the Local National Committee has the authority to approve rental contracts for nonresidential premises to be used for business and services. Similarly, it grants provisional approval to the termination of leases contracted according to regulations valid prior to the effect of the law on the leasing and renting of nonresidential premises. The National Committee of the Capital, Prague, all district national committees, the national committees of the cities of Brno, Ostrava, Plzen, and Usti nad Labem are now authorized to order the person who is in charge of a national property—not a private one—to let nonresidential premises and to enter into a contract with an assigned renter if the need arises to locate a state organ in the territory administered by the national committee.

The law on the jurisdiction of organs of the Czech Republic in social security matters, which modifies the jurisdiction of national organs in this sphere, and the law on the legal profession were also adopted.

Civic Forum Nominates Havel for President

LD0405102490 Prague CTK in English 0905 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Prague May 4 (CTK)—The Coordinating Centre of the Civic Forum puts forward Vaclav Havel as a candidate for the function of the president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in the June elections.

The information was given to CTK today by representative of the Civic Forum Coordinating Centre Jan Urban.

The new Czechoslovak president will be elected by a newly elected Czechoslovak Federal Assembly.

Vaclav Havel became president on December 29, 1989.

Nomenklatura Said To Hold 80 Percent Key Posts

AU0405093090 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 29 Apr 90 p 1

[Milan Krejci commentary: "Mother Nomenklatura's Heritage"]

[Excerpts] The all-embracing mother nomenklatura has silently passed away, but it has left behind enough offspring to make any queen bee envious. One only has to look around. [passage omitted]

"Hold tight to your positions," M. Valek, member of the then Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] leadership urged party members on 9 December. In those agitated days one somehow failed to catch his words—except for the CPCZ, of course. Its press is shedding tears over the persecution of innocent comrades in an attempt to pull the wool over our eyes, lest we see how tenaciously the children of mother nomenklatura are holding on to their positions. [passage omitted]

The public and the press are being shaken by disputes about buildings, about a hyphen, about whether the country's name should have five words or only two, and about the screening of deputies. [passage omitted] At the same time, it has escaped many people's notice that four-fifths of the people listed in the CPCZ's nomenklatura still hold their original posts. Are we to believe that they were the best of the best and the most capable from among the most capable? [passage omitted]

A survey carried out recently within the department responsible for the metallurgy, engineering, and electrotechnical industries suggested a great deal. In fewer than one-fifth of the enterprises has the director been replaced and in fewer than one-quarter has one of the deputy directors been replaced. [passage omitted] No senior manager has been replaced in almost one-half of all enterprise subdivisions. [passage omitted] The fewest changes have occurred in small towns. In approximately 13 percent of all metallurgy, engineering, and electrotechnical industry enterprises, civic initiatives are not even permitted by the gentlemen nomenklatura directors!

The activities of the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence organizations are being characterized as careerist crusades and witch-hunts. Figures betray something else. Less than four percent of Civic Forum and Public Against Violence spokesmen have been appointed directors within the aforesaid ministerial department. In 63 percent of all cases, none of the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence spokesmen are even present in the new management. The results of the survey may not be representative but they certainly provide food for thought. [passage omitted]

Let us not be silenced by this hypocritical lamenting over the persecution of innocent normalizers and children of the nomenklatura. We shall hardly change the present state of affairs without a vetting process. [passage omitted] Let us not allow ourselves to be hoodwinked. Someone knows what he wants and is patiently waiting for his chance.

Prague TV Introduces PAV Jun Candidates

LD0305201490

[Editorial Report] Prague Television Service in Slovak at 1710 GMT on 3 May carries a one-minute election broadcast flash for Public Against Violence. Public Against Violence introduces the following officials who are running on its ticket in the June elections:

Slovak Premier Milan Cic is a candidate for the Federal Assembly's Chamber of the People.
Slavomir Stracar, federal minister of metallurgy, engineering and electrical engineering, is a candidate for the Slovak National Council.
Milan Knazko, one of President Havel's official advisers, is a candidate for the Chamber of the People.
Slovak Deputy Premier Vladimir Ondurs is a candidate for the Slovak National Council.
Frantisek Miklosko is a candidate for the Slovak National Council.
Slovak Minister of Culture Ladislav Snopko is a candidate for the Slovak National Council.

State Bank Deregulates Interest Rates 1 May

AU0305153190 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 29 Apr 90 p 2

[Unattributed report from the "From Home" column: "Will Saving Become More Attractive?"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak State Bank, together with the Finance Ministries of the two republics, has amended its decree on interest rates: Interest rates on non-fixed-rate deposits may not exceed two percent, but all existing restrictions on fixed-rate deposits are being lifted. Interest rates on fixed-rate deposits will thus not be subject to any limitations. Savings banks and other financial institutions may thus introduce, in addition to existing forms, various new forms of savings and offer their customers attractive interest rates. The Czechoslovak State Bank at the same time imposes an upper limit on loan interest rates. Banks may charge citizens a maximum of 12 percent for cash loans and a maximum of 10 percent for non-cash special purpose loans. This measure goes into effect 1 May 1990.

Cost of East German Mark Doubles

AU0305150990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Apr 90 p 2

[Unattributed report from the "By Telex, Mail, Telephone..." column: "To Prevent Currency Speculations"]

[Text] In order to prevent our citizens from speculating in East German marks, the selling rate for tourists is, as of 27 April of this year, increased to 1,000 korunas for 100 marks. The purchase rate of 350 korunas for 100 marks remains unchanged.

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *Reportage on German reunification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.*

De Maiziere on Mediation Between FRG, USSR

AU0305145790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Apr 90 p 1

[Interview with Premier Lothar de Maiziere by Reiner Oschmann during De Maiziere's flight back from Moscow on 29 April: "Growing Economic Relations Offer Chance for Social Policy in Our Country"]

[Text] [Oschmann] Before your trip, it was said that you would take "important messages" to Moscow. What messages were these?

[De Maiziere] First of all, we were able to make it clear to our Soviet partners that we are loyal partners in existing treaties and that we will act according to the principle of pacta sunt servanda. Moreover, we pointed out that even in our own interest we are interested in continuing and stabilizing economic ties. We have emphasized this by presenting a supplementary protocol on GDR goods supplies to the USSR in 1990, something that had not been mentioned in talks prior to our meeting. This protocol provides for supplies worth 250 million rubles in areas that are particularly sensitive to the USSR. It involves goods from the sectors of food industry, meat and sausages, textiles, industrial goods, computer technology, automobiles—in other words, a whole range of products in which the GDR headed the list of the USSR's import statistics in the past.

Our offers did not include these additional deliveries in the 1990 financial compensation program, but sought possibilities for long-term credits.

However, at the same time, we also presented a list of goods and services that are vital to us, because at the end of the day the accounts must somehow be balanced. I think that our additional offer was gladly accepted.

[Oschmann] Is this also true for the size of the offer?

[De Maiziere] Yes, the size of our offer certainly surprised the other side. We even think that within the next two weeks it will be possible to conclude final agreements in this regard. We told our Soviet partners that we do not regard our economic ties, which developed over the years, as something that should be reduced, but as a particular chance for the social policy in our country over the next few years. As of 1 January 1991, we will carry out our mutual trade on the basis of world market prices and a convertible currency.

[Oschmann] Are you bringing back new findings from Moscow that might be important for the negotiations on the State Treaty?

[De Maiziere] Yes, there are certainly a few, but findings might not be the right word.

[Oschmann] So what is the right term in this regard?

[De Maiziere] The other side voiced certain fears, which we had even included in our calculations before. We know that, in the foreseeable future, we can guarantee stable trade relations only if we create certain protective measures for production in those areas that are necessary for our trade, and if we continue to provide export subsidies or apply similar measures.

[Oschmann] Considering the conflict of opinions in connection with the alliance status of a united Germany, do you perceive the GDR now as a sort of mediator between Moscow and Bonn?

[De Maiziere] This is exactly how I have perceived myself from the very beginning. German unification is taking place between two poles, between the West and East European processes. If we fail to ensure that a united Germany becomes the bridgehead and the connecting link between East and West Europe, then we will fail to accomplish something that will stand the test of time.

De Maiziere Announces Food Import Restrictions

LD0305143490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1355 GMT 3 May 90

[Excerpt] Ludwigslust (ADN)—On Thursday [3 May], Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere announced measures to restrict imports of agricultural products. The "leap from the planned economy into the market economy" should thereby be made easier for the farmers, he said during a fact-finding visit to the animal production cooperative in Mecklenburg's Zierzow, Ludwigslust Kreis. The premier saw good chances for agricultural mass production in the cooperatives, but one would not avoid quotas and shutdowns of inefficiently managed land in the GDR either, he added. At the same time, De Maiziere insisted on a higher standard for the foodstuffs industry. Above all, good products would have to be offered in a more attractive way. Medium-sized enterprises, for example, could commit themselves to a higher standard as manufacturers of packaging. [passage omitted]

GDR-FRG State Treaty Talks Continue

LD0305171690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1620 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today's [3 May] round of expert talks on the State Treaty between the GDR and the FRG at the Council of Ministers' building in Berlin lasted just under four hours. After publishing the rules on monetary policy yesterday, they focused on economic problems.

Both sides were optimistic at the end of the talks about being able to present a draft of the treaty soon. State Secretary Dr. Guenther Krause, head of the GDR delegation, announced before the start of the talks that there was so far no treaty and that it would be some time before it could be worked out. The framework of treaties was to "have a social cushion." The talks on economic, monetary, and social union will resume tomorrow [4 May] at 0800 [0600 GMT] at the Council of Ministers.

Ebeling on Development Aid, Visit to Nicaragua

AU0205124190 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 28 Apr 90 p 1

[NZ report: "Signals For Help Under New Aspects"]

[Text] Berlin (NZ)—The De Maiziere government wants to de-ideologize its previous form of development aid and examine all projects in 64 countries under this aspect. This was reported by Economic Cooperation Minister Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling (German Social Union) at a news conference after his return from his visit to Nicaragua yesterday. In the future, priority will be given to help in environmental catastrophes—China will be offered support in overcoming the consequences of the recent earthquake—in the health system, and in vocational training.

The minister said that his first trip, together with his FRG counterpart Juergen Warnke (Christian Social Union), to the UN special conference on the burning problems of the Third World and to Managua for the inauguration of new Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro gave a signal: A signal for joint appearances of departmental ministers of the two German states. However, after the revolution in the GDR, he also wants to give signals on behalf of the new government, which does not want to forget the problems in the Third World because of its own concerns and troubles. Signals were also given regarding the obviously needed humanitarian help.

Minister Ebeling reported on his visit to the "Carlos Marx" hospital in Managua, the showpiece of previous GDR help. He assured Nicaragua that the help will be continued this year, so that the process of privatization will make further progress. However, a change of the name also has to be considered, he said. In any case, the help provided by the GDR for the development of a secret service similar to the State Security Service in that country was terminated.

Ebeling paid tribute to his meeting with Bishop Obando y Bravo and the bishop's role in promoting peace in this country harassed by crises. He also banks on the church in this country when he expects new, necessary donations from the GDR citizens' as a result of their readiness to make sacrifices. The ministry itself is only at the stage of being constituted and seeks support in developing its own tasks, he said.

Meckel on Moscow Visit, Two-Plus-Four Talks

AU0305134390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 May 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Markus Meckel by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reporter Reiner Oschmann aboard the plane returning to Bonn; date not given: "Best Within A NATO That Has Changed"]

[Text] During the flight back from his first visit to Moscow as foreign minister, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND conducted the following interview with Markus Meckel in Bonn a few days before the first round of the two-plus-four ministerial consultations:

[Oschmann] Did you bring back new findings for the two-plus-four consultations from your visit to Moscow?

[Meckel] I can tell you nothing new as far as the contents are concerned. Nevertheless, this visit was important for getting to know one another. We now have the first democratically elected GDR Government, and it has a clear program: To conclude the unification of the Germans in a future German federal state as quickly and as appropriately as possible. This creates problems if one does not win the confidence of one's neighbors, and it also causes foreign political and security problems, which cannot be solved at once. The two-plus-four talks were initiated so that we can deal with and agree on the external aspects of the process of unity in discussion with one another. This also means that we must put an end to the postwar situation. What we must do is to create a clear basis, on which all sides agree, and put an end to the rights of the allies.

It is important to account for the interests of the Soviets in this process. There are clear concerns with which we were again faced during our visit. This is why we clearly expressed the following two points: First, we will observe the contractual regulations, our commitments, and contractual obligations. A future regulation must also take account of the USSR's interests in terms of security policy. These are the two clear principles that we discussed.

[Oschmann] The big question is: How can one dispel those fears? Have you applied new patterns of thought in order to find solutions to the problem in an unconventional way, which you sometimes described as important?

[Meckel] This is exactly what we discussed with Mr. Shevardnadze. He very clearly started from the premise that the future Germany cannot be part of NATO. I asked him what that meant? His answer was clear: It would be best to have a neutral Germany. However, since most other people do not like this idea, Mr. Shevardnadze would prefer double membership as an interim solution. After all, this question only requires an interim regulation. All sides have agreed that the ultimate objective is an all-European security system.

Now the question is how we can attain this and what shape such an interim solution should take. What is clear is that the commitments of the two German states, which correspond to specific interests in West and East, must be preserved. So I can see the importance of this fundamental aspect, even though not that of double membership.

Of course the question arises as to what form this might take. We said that we could perceive Germany best within a NATO that has changed. This requires necessary changes of NATO's strategies. At the same time we say that we want to account for the interests of the Soviets. This must take place in the form of military strategies, that is to say in the form of demilitarizing Germany, clearly down grading [Abstufung] the German Armies and also the Armies that are deployed on German territory. This should be achieved on the basis of a treaty.

One thing is clear; namely, that the interim structure will cause certain absurdities. It is important that at the conclusion of the two-plus-four talks—we hope that this will be this fall—we will have a contractual regulation, which leads to a CSCE summit, which in turn gives clear orders, so that we can reach definite institutions of European security by 1992.

[Oschmann] Why are so many "simple" and "apolitical" people so fascinated by this concept of military neutrality? Opinion polls on this subject in the West and East have prove this.

[Meckel] I can imagine this if one says that the two blocks are armed to the teeth, which is the case even today. Yet neutral means: neither of the two. We want to be armed to the teeth neither here nor there. If possible, we would rather not have any arms at all. This is the aspect many people like. However, I believe that this is not possible, because "neither of the two" requires the blocks. Yet it is those blocks that we want to overcome, including their structure, in creatinge an all-European structure. Mr. Shevardnadze once again suggested, setting up a center for solving conflicts; there are also other proposals to institutionalize the CSCE process. This is a subject that has to be dealt with as a priority and that will certainly play a major role in the fall.

SCUD-B Missiles Transferred to Soviet Union

LD0305164290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1529 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The operational-tactical missile complex 9K72 (NATO code "SCUD-B") has been removed from the weaponry and combat strength of the GDR's NVA [National People's Army], the Disarmament and Defense Ministry announced today. The missiles, launchers, as well as the other apparatus belonging to the ground-based equipment, were handed over to the Soviet side in April 1990. It was transferred to Soviet territory. This measure is based on a decision made by the GDR Government in January 1990.

De Maiziere Statement on Domestic Policies

LD0305163290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1447 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Prime Minister de Maiziere's statement is as follows:

The local elections on 6 May are of great significance for the future of our country. Yesterday the Council of Ministers discussed a comprehensive legislative program for the introduction of laender and local autonomy. An important aim of the government is restructuring the central command state into a federalist state of citizens in which the decisions are made as close to the people as possible. Never again should power be concentrated in the hands of a few people and institutions. For this reason laender will be formed on 1 January 1991 with significant responsibilities in the areas of schools and higher education, the media and culture, the police, and the judiciary.

We will introduce a genuinely civic, local autonomy. The decisions in our towns and communities should no longer be made in Berlin, but the decisions on schools and kindergartens, house and road building, trains, local culture, and environmental protection will be made by the new elected bodies in communities, towns, and districts. I therefore call on all my fellow citizens of the GDR to make use of their right to vote on 6 May and elect the representatives of democratic parties.

The government of the GDR is carefully observing reports in the media with concern that a series of people, mainly from the old SED [Socialist Unity Party], are irresponsibly assuming areas of responsibility, as directors of combines or local administrators, for concluding contracts to their advantage or to obtain privileges. In any case, workers are being arbitrarily dismissed. The GDR Government demands all parties in the GDR to use their influence with their members and supporters to stop the continuation of this earlier form of abuse of power. It will swiftly work out a law on protection against dismissal. The GDR Government will carefully examine all the treaties and modes of behavior mentioned, and, wherever possible, stop arbitrary and irresponsible actions. If possible, these contracts will be declared void. Those responsible will be called to account in the courts.

A large number of houses, apartments, holiday homes, and similar facilities have been under state administration so far. The government will speedily cut unjustified concessions. Insofar as members of the former SED appropriated assets and concessions right up to the last weeks, it will be considered how to deal with this, and in general how to ensure that unlawful business can be declared null and void. The basic principle here must be: Assets taken away from the state will be returned to the state.

In the last two ministerial meetings the GDR Government discussed which important personnel decisions

must be made in the near future. A democratic government needs democratic, loyal, and competent staff in its administration. The major posts in the government administration will be filled according to these criteria. Every public employee has a fair opportunity, as long as he himself had done nothing wrong, to work in a loyal and competent manner.

The GDR Government also notes with concern that economic and media concerns and private persons from the FRG and other states are appropriating, in an uncontrolled manner, enterprises, sections of the media, and real estate without a legal basis. The government appeals to the affected enterprises and citizens with a view to preventing or halting these abuses during the difficult transitional phase. The introduction of the social market economy must not be undermined by some people attempting to gain impermissible advantages in advance through the creation of faits acomplis in the absence of competition. A property and assets law is being prepared which will naturally also enable citizens and enterprises from the FRG to engage in financial activities in the GDR. The GDR Government intends to prevent misuse and at the same time provide all investors with favorable conditions for positive economic activity.

Commissioner Concerned About Xenophobia

AU0205142590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28-29 Apr 90 p 1

[ND-Fleischer report: "Precarious Situation for Foreigners"]

[Text] Berlin (ND-Fleischer)—At a news conference on Friday [27 April], Almuth Berger, foreigners' commissioner of the GDR Council of Ministers, dealt with the complicated situation of foreign citizens in the GDR. She confirmed that enterprises' efforts to terminate the employment of foreign citizens are increasing. As of 18 April, 9,068 applications for dismissals from 183 enterprises had been made. It was decided to send a delegation for negotiations to Vietnam, Mozambique, and Angola in the next few weeks.

Mrs. Berger advocated a quota regulation or the limited residence of foreigners depending on the housing situation and the situation on the labor market. She expressed concern about increasing hostility toward foreigners, which even includes racist attitudes. The cause is "that the past of the Third Reich was insufficiently overcome" and antifascism was feigned. Almuth Berger said that "we would not like very much to adopt" the FRG foreigners' law.

German, Latvian Television Conclude Agreement

LD0305205490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1929 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)— Hans Bentzien, general manager of German television (DFF), and the chairman of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic state committee for television and radio broadcasting, Janis Leja, have for the first time signed an agreement on cooperation in Berlin. The partners intend, among other things, to cooperate in current reporting, mutual acquisition of television programs, and in filming. In a DFF statement, it says that the agreement consolidates the direct relations that have been growing for years between the two partners, and it is an important step in the expansion of the international work of Latvian television.

Premier Antall Discusses New Government

LD0305134490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 3 May 90

[Report by Attila Nemeth Miklos on new Premier Jozsef Antall's news conference at the National Assembly; date not given]

[Text] Hungary will have a new government in mid-May at the earliest, Premier Jozsef Antall announced at his news conference this afternoon. He added that he has nothing to say about personnel questions as yet, since those will be decided in further political negotiations.

He said that he considers administrative and ministerial work generally as a task independent of parties and party affiliation. Thus, he regrets that good professionals have left certain ministries. However, he added, this phenomenon also indicates the upsurge of privatization, because the vast majority of the ministrial officials have found jobs in various ventures.

In reply to questions, he said that the Planning Office and the Wage and Labor Office will be abolished in their present form, but of course those working there will be needed because they will deal with these areas at the ministerial level. The international contracts concluded by the Nemeth government are considered continuous but they will be reexamined, said Jozef Antall.

He also said that he is in continuous negotiations with well-known Western financial circles and, even while transforming the government, he is led, first and foremost, by the goal of preserving Hungary's political and economic credit attractiveness. He confirmed that the agrarian portfolio will be given to the Independent Smallholders Party and the social and health portfolio to the Christian Democrat Party. It was also mentioned that in the preparation for the new government's economic program, the Democratic Forum program, the coalition partners' ideas, the proposal of the Blue Ribbon Committee and the Bridge Group, and the plans of a Swiss expert will be taken into consideration.

Antall Interview on Government Formation

LD0305185490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 3 May 90

[Interview with new Premier Jozsef Antall by unidentified announcer following the National Assembly session on 3 May—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Mr. Chairman [Hungarian Democratic Forum chairman], now that you obtained the mandate to form the government today [3 May], what will your first steps be, what are the steps that you have to take, and what are the steps that you want to take?

[Antall] The mandate to form a government means that I have to do two things. I have to first work out a government program, and, what is more, it has to be a coalition government program. The other thing I have to do is to compile the register of ministers, and I have to request the ministers. Since it is a question of a coalition government, this also means that together with the ministers, I immediately have to request the political state secretaries as well, since the coalition agreement in fact is based on the selection of ministers and political state secretaries. This in itself indicates what is at issue, and that this is a bigger and a more lengthy procedure.

Further, in the past the Nemeth government would also have planned several modifications in the internal organization and function of the ministries, and it would have considered it necessary to take measures—which it did not take precisely because it was a question of a transitional period. Under this framework it becomes necessary, for example, to modify the name and organization of the Planning Office. Further, there is definitely a need in the period of the economy's structural transformation to set up the Labor Affairs Ministry, which will naturally be built on the apparatus of the National Office of Wages and Labor.

Therefore, the first task is to carry out the most necessary amendment to the constitution until the formation of the government. Afterwards, following the discussions which are held in parallel with this, the government will have to be formed. I have to consult with everyone, and in the meantime I have to prepare the government program. This means that hopefully by mid-May, or around 20 May at the latest, a government will have to stand ready.

[Announcer] Mr. Chairman, after today's session it was announced that several parliamentary committees are holding sessions—the Constitutional Law Committee, the Economic and Planning Committees. You said just now that there will be a need for a constitutional amendment. So, this can be expected at next week's Wednesday session. But what precisely will this constitutional amendment be, and why is it necessary for you to be able to form the new government?

[Antall] It is not only a question of the constitution, but of laws which do not directly form a part of the constitution. They relate to the listing of the ministries; then the State Minister's Office, which we regard as an office raised above the other ministers. We wish to regard as ministers without portfolio those ministers who do not head ministries, and in this sense we do not consider it justified to give prominence to the ministers of state. There are numerous versions of this naturally in international practice as well. We want to abolish this too.

[Announcer] Will there be other name changes as well? Because at the news conference this afternoon [3 May] you mentioned the People's Welfare Ministry.

[Antall] There are several kinds of concepts here. The committees will discuss them. Many hold the view that it may perhaps be worth restoring the name of such ministries which have great traditions.

[Announcer] How are the coalition talks progressing? There are some opinions—at least, this could also be heard here in the corridor—which say that the new government is almost ready, since in the period that has elapsed since the elections you have completed these discussions.

[Antall] But I would not say that it is ready. The discussions are in an advanced stage. However, if the question of just one ministry has not been settled, then on the basis of the coalition proportions and other things the entire government will be affected. Therefore, there is no sense in talking about this until then. And there is no sense in it, because these things could still change. Therefore, we can only talk about a full coalition government and a full list when every ministry issue has been decided, when we know precisely that those modifications which we propose have passed forever. Because, for instance, if something does not go through, let us say as regards the fate of the ministries, then once again the government has to be seen in a different formation.

I also consider it important to note that in general, on the basis of the constitutional amendment, or even on the basis of the earlier constitution, it is a very important change that the functions of deputy ministers have ceased to exist, and the function of state secretaries will also change. We will introduce, on the basis of the constitution and the office of state secretary, who will be a civil servant and who will stand at the head of the ministries' office organization. The political or parliamentary state secretary, on the other hand, will go when the government goes. In other words, he is not a civil servant...

[Announcer, interrupting]...or stays.

[Antall] Or stays. But, together with the minister, the political state secretary in the same way tenders his resignation and changes. The political state secretary in general will always be a National Assembly deputy.

[Announcer] During the afternoon vote on the stand on Lithuania, an interesting tripartite proposal took shape. What happened was that the Alliance of Free Democrats [SzDSz], together with the Independent Smallholders Party [FKGP], proposed a modification. In your view, could joint proposals of this type take place on other issues which are more important that this? I do not want to say that this was an unimportant question.

[Antall] At present no government coalition, which would oblige the coalition parties to vote uniformly, has yet been concluded. That is one thing. The other thing is the FKGP, since there is no coalition government yet...

[Announcer, interrupting] So everyone still votes as he wants at present?

[Antall] At present, this is not yet affected, since there is no agreement to this effect yet. We feel that in this situation things can happen like, for example, our concluding a global political agreement between the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] and the SzDSz concerning how to build the framework. Thus, it is conceivable that until we talk about parties of a government coalition they may profess diverging positions in foreign political issues. For this reason the MDF group of deputies did not recommend, with special emphasis, the position that deputies should vote for. The Foreign Affairs Committee had a proposal. There was a motion to modify it. We did not check how our own members voted. Therefore, in principle, it is conceivable that among our own members there might have been some who voted for the modifying motion. In my view, this was an issue of personal conscience, in which this was safely possible.

[Announcer] In your morning speech, you mentioned several times that here, to be sure, it is necessary to do away with illusions. What did you mean exactly by this? Whose illusions were you thinking of?

[Antall] I meant this in general. One often has the impression that there are extremes in the public mood, and these extremes often might occur among the deputies. I am not saying that they might exist among the greater majority of deputies. However, this is sometimes perceptible among the deputies, too. These extremes appear in the manner that, in some interpretations, the future of the country is viewed with complete pessimism, bitterness. The social tensions and the economic bleakness are seen as being such that there will be virtually no recovery. This pessimistic mood prevails among part of the population.

Among others, one feels that they do not comprehend the responsibility of how grave a situation the country really is in. In the past years the population was not even prepared for this. These are the two extremes, about which one can speak, at present, in Hungary. One of them, pessimistically and simply does not believe that we might be able to extricate ourselves from this within the foreseeable future, that we might really be able to transform the country. The other one does not view the situation with enough responsibility and wants to politicize it by not recognizing the necessity to focus on the main issues, but by believing this we can play around with side-issues, or that it is possible to even engage in coffee-house politics.

I believe what is at issue here is that we have a future. We have the possibility of recovering from this crisis situation. The internal and foreign political conditions exist for this. For this, the country, the Hungarian people, need unified resolve, a belief that there is light at the end of the tunnel and that it is necessary to strive toward it. I should like, on the one hand, to emphasize this belief, together with the real possibility. In this, I count on the resolve and belief of the Hungarian people, and on the support taken in this sense from abroad.

[Announcer] Excuse me, support in what sense?

[Antall] That they will help us to recover from this economic crisis. This is what we must strive for.

On the other hand, it is necessary for everyone to sense the need to focus on these main issues. We cannot now fall into the error of giving scope for political game-playing. Therefore, we are believers in a responsible, political multiparty system. This is our attitude, and I think that this attitude will be reflected by the government coalition negotiations. And this sense of responsiblity was also reflected by the agreement of the MDF and the SZDSZ.

[Announcer] Mr. President. In recent times the change of regime in Hungary has practically gone hand in hand with the decrease of political power and a paradox is conceivable that in the future too it must do so in order for a change of regime to occur. Do you agree with this?

[Antall] I do not agree with this. All the more so because with political power the bad thing is not that political power exists, but that political power does not rest on legitimate grounds. [passage omitted]

If political power does not prevail then it is unable to carry out the program for which it was mandated by the Hungarian people. [passage omitted]

A similarly bad political reflex, about which we often spoke as members of the various opposition political parties is that in effect a group which has got into parliament today has an automatic opposition reflex. [passage omitted] Therefore we must recognize the fact that from now on we are not opposition. And this reflex survives—in MDF members and even in its deputies too.

[Announcer] How do we see this reflex existing? [Passage omitted]

[Antall] Often it is a usual reflex action that we should protest against something—in general when speaking about government power this is what must be watched, because such behavior is an opposition type, in that everything which is power, which is government, is really hostile [hostile in quotation marks]. [passage omitted]

Antall Discusses Governmental Priorities

LD0305192190 Budapest MTI in English 1744 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 3 (MTI)—Hungary will observe all the international treaties it concluded previously, Jozsef Antall told a news conference in the parliament building on Thursday [3 May]. Mr. Antall, whom the interim president of the republic commissioned to form a government, added that although this was the political basis of Hungary's trustworthiness, it did not exclude the possibility of revising some treaties under mutual agreement. To win the confidence of foreign countries and improve Hungary's good positions are the key issues of transformation, he said.

Mr. Antall went on to say that the new government would seek to establish good ties with Western Europe, North America, and countries in other regions, without neglecting relations with its neighbours.

To win the confidence of the international banking life is another priority, Mr. Antall said, adding that Hungary would invariably meet its debt service and other financial obligations. Should it succeed, the new government will have a chance to solve its tasks with success.

Mr. Antall emphasized that the new government would seek to maintain correct relations with the Soviet Union, and promote the continuation of troops withdrawal.

Mr. Antall held it very important for Hungary to evolve a balanced home policy atmosphere and stabilize its multi-party system and for parliamentarism to operate efficiently.

Mr. Antall went on to say that the Hungarian Democratic Forum had held preliminary talks with its possible coalition partners. The Independent Smallholders' Party and the Christian Democratic People's Party but had not yet reached any agreement so he could not speak about personnel issues. He added that the new government would by no means be formed before mid-May and the coalition talks may last even until May 20.

Mr. Antall said the new government would continue the talks with the World Bank, The International Monetary Fund, and the major financial groups on credits and eventual investment projects in Hungary.

In conclusion, Mr. Antall said that his prime ministerial post would involve his resignation as president of the parliamentary group of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF). For this reason, the group will elect a new president and presidium when the government has been formed. At the same time, Mr. Antall will remain HDF president, with his person connecting the party, the government and the parliamentary group.

National Assembly Begins 2nd Session 3 May

LD0305083890

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0700 GMT on 3 May begins carrying a live relay of the second day of the Hungarian National Assembly founding session in Budapest. The announcer sets the scene. Today the acting president will charge the head of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) parliamentary group, Jozsef Antall, with forming a government, and the National Assembly's permanent and special committees will be set up. A decision will also be made on temporary regulation concerning deputies' fees and reimbursements for expenses. Arpad Goncz, the new acting president, has entered the hall. Gyorgy Szabad, acting Assembly speaker, is to chair the proceedings.

Szabad opens the proceedings by greeting the deputies, and checks how many deputies are present. There are

357 deputies present. Deputy Ferenc Nagy has asked leave to speak before today's work begins.

Ferenc Nagy, Independent Smallholders Party (FKGP) leader, recalls yesterday's enactment by the National Assembly of the law concerning 1956. The County Bekes organization of the FKGP has initiated the rehabilitation of former Premier Ferenc Nagy (different person) and his associates, who were forced into emigration after the Second World War. Szabad suggests that the Constitutional, Juridical, and Justice Committee deal with the matter, and the Assembly accepts this. The floor is given to Arpad Goncz, who wishes to make a statement.

Goncz says that after yesterday's resignation of the premier, he held talks with representatives of the Assembly's parliamentary groups and non-party deputies. On this basis, he charges Jozsef Antall, head of the MDF parliamentary group, with forming a government.

Antall takes the floor. He underlines the responsibility of the task which he has undertaken. He would like the deputies to believe that he can form a government answserable to parliament; the deputies should believe that he is not guided by personal ambition. The first thing he will have to do is to ask for the confidence of the Assembly deputies, and the Hungarian people to take the first steps to lead Hungary out of its current, difficult circumstances. We have reached an historical moment in which we can take our fate in our hands, says Antall. He underlines the need for going forward with the government and opposition joining forces, which earlier competed with one another in the elections. We must also win over the confidence of the international financial world.

Jozsef Antall asks for the mandate to form the first coalition government after Hungary's free elections. We should like for there to exist the possibility of cooperation with the opposition in parliament, for there to be honorable, decent, trusting relations between National Assembly deputies, regardless of party affiliation. He recalls that if again there were to be one-party dictatorship in Hungary, not many deputies who are present in the Assembly would remain free. Antall concludes his speech to tumultuous applause.

Session Continues

LD0305094390

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0731 GMT on 3 May continues carrying a live relay of the second day of the Hungarian National Assembly founding session in Budapest. Szabad thanks Antall for his speech. He turns to the next agenda point, which is the setting up of Assembly committees. He proposes that the Assembly declare in a resolution that alongside setting up the committees, parliament at its founding session also designate the chairmen, deputy chairmen, and other officials of the committees. This would speed up work, and the committees would sooner become functional. The Assembly accepts this resolution with 343 votes in favor.

Szabad asks deputies Katalin Bossanyi and Balazs Bardos to make a proposal concerning officials and members of the National Assembly committees. They read out the lists of proposed chairmen, deputy chairmen, secretaries, and members of the Assembly permanent and special committees. Szabad thanks the two deputies for reading out the proposed committee list, and asks whether anyone has a remark to make.

Peter Tolgyessy of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SzDSz) makes a proposal concerning the name of the Cultural, Educational, Scientific, Sports, and Press Committee, and also concerning one of the proposed members of the Human Rights Committee—that Zoltan Hajdu should replace Geza Laborczi as an SzDSz member of this committee. Jozsef Torgyan (FKGP) remarks that Bela Kovacs of the FDGP has been omitted from the list. The display shows that two people have asked leave to speak, but it turns out that in these cases oranges, which Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESz) members left at the positions of all assembly deputies this morning, rolled onto the buttons which deputies are supposed to press if they want to take the floor.

Sandor Kulin (MDF) proposes that the name of the Social and Health Affairs Committee be changed to Social, Family Protection, and Health Affairs Committee. Sandor Papp (MDF) also proposes altering the name of the Environmental Protection Committee, to which Gyorgy Szabad asks whether the name Environmental Protection and Regional Development Committee would be acceptable. This is followed by further discussion.

Peter Tolgyessy recalls that there was an interparty agreement on the names of the committees, and he does not understand why MDF deputies are not proposing name changes to certain committees. He also asks the speaker of the house to see to the smooth functioning of the Assembly, and not to take part in the debate. Szabad says that he, as house speaker, has not taken part in the debate, but rather pointed out certain semantic implications of some name changes. There is further discussion of the semantic implications of various names for the committee on environmental protection.

Zoltan Kiraly (MDF) disagrees with Tolgyessy's earlier remark, and says that there is always room for debate in the Assembly work. Tolgyessy elaborates on what he said earlier; he did not want to imply that there can be no debate on a certain matter. All he wanted to say was that he had believed there would be no further proposals on committee name changes, since the party groups had come to agreement on the matter.

Attila Nagy of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) proposes that the debate be closed. It continues. Erzsebet Purztai (MDF) asks for debate to be closed. Szabad

continues debate by allowing Mihaly Mozes to speak. Mozes asks the speaker not to expect the Assembly to engage in long debates on substantive issues right now.

Voting takes place on setting up committees, according to submission: This is accepted, with 325 votes in favor. Szabad says that this means that the Assembly regards the committee as having been set up, together with the proposed officials and members. A half-hour recess in announced. Szabad says before the recess begins that the oranges at the deputies' positions were left there by FIDESz. Announcer notes that many deputies are putting the oranges in their pockets as they leave the hall for the recess.

Further on Session

LD0305135290

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1250 GMT on 3 May continues carrying a live relay of the second day of the Hungarian National Assembly founding session in Budapest. The announcer says that Assembly Speaker Gyorgy Szabad is the chairman. Szabad turns to the next agenda point: temporary regulation of fees and reimbursement for expenses incurred by deputies. Szabad first points out the temporary nature of this measure until a final law on the subject is enacated.

The draft regulation has been distributed in writing. Szabad asks whether anyone wishes to speak in this matter. No one has any contribution to make. Szabad asks the Assembly whether it accepts this draft resolution concerning the interim regulation of deputies' fees. There are 306 who vote in favor; three vote against; 10 abstain. The draft resolution is adopted.

Szabad says: "I would like to announce to you that the next session of the National Assembly will be held on 9 May. This is so that before the government is formed, in the interests of helping this, the National Assembly will be able to put on its agenda the amendment of some provisions of the Constitution, the law related to the listing of ministries, and the law concerning legislation. The parliamentary party group leaders have formed a coordinating stance on the preparation of this and on the date to be set. So, on 9 May, at 1000 [0800 GMT], we will hold our next plenary session."

The next matter is Lithuania. Szabad says the Foreign Affairs Committee and all parliamentary party groups have discussed this issue. The opinion has taken shape that it would be justified for the National Assembly to take a stand, but there should be no parliamentary debate on the matter. The view was that the session should pass a joint resolution to refrain from debate, and provide a possibility only to pass or listen to a statement. Szabad asks whether he can call for a decision to this effect. Viktor Orban of FIDESz, Alliance of Young Democrats, points out the importance of the matter, and say that three initiatives on this subject have been submitted. Only after these documents have been studied will FIDESz be willing to refrain from debate. Szabad then says the deputies have not received these initiatives in written form; a recess of indeterminate length is called until the initiatives are handed out in writing.

The announcer then recaps the interim regulation on deputies' fees that has been enacted: The deputies' monthly fee will amount to 50 percent of the salary received by ministers—amounting to some 31,000-32,000 forints. The Assembly speaker will get 180 percent, and the deputy speakers will get 140 percent of this amount. The clerks will get 20 percent extra; committee chairmen will get 80 percent extra.

Session Ends

LD0305154290

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1355 GMT on 3 May continues carrying a live relay of the second day of the Hungarian National Assembly founding session in Budapest. The session resumes with Gyorgy Szabad as chairman. He asks whether the Assembly agrees to the issue of Lithuania being added to the agenda. A vote is taken: 221 votes are in favor, 61 against, 15 abstentions. Unidentified deputy says voting machine is not working. Attendance is checked, and 355 are present. Deputies who think their voting machines are not functioning are asked to state their names.

The names of the deputies with malfunctioning voting machines are still being taken. A vote is taken again on whether there should be no debate on Lithuania: 326 vote on there being no debate, so a decision to this effect has been taken.

Szabad then says that a statement has been drafted on Lithuania. Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Gyula Horn takes the floor. Horn reads the Foreign Affairs Committee's statement on Lithuania. Szabad thanks Horn for reading the statement. He asks the leaders of the SzDSz and the FKGP parliamentary groups to state their views on the statement. Tolgyessy on behalf of SzDSz proposes that a clause concerning the stability of the Soviet Union be omitted. SzDSz believes it is enough to advocate the self-determination of the Lithuanian people and express agreement with the need to preserve international security. Torgyan on behalf of the FKGP agrees with him.

On behalf of the Alliance of Young Democrats, FIDESz, which submitted its own draft statement, Gabor Fodor says that Hungary cannot now leave Lithuania in the lurch. Not statements, but deeds, are necessary. Lithuania is too much like Hungary in 1956, when it was abandoned by the world. Fodor reads the FIDESz draft statement expressing the Assembly's deep sympathy with the Lithuanian people's endeavor. It calls on the Hungarian Government to try its utmost to prevent a large power from forcing a small people to its knees.

Szabad asks Fodor whether he considers this modification an independent motion. Fodor says he considers it an independent motion. Szabad says it is time to vote. He proposes that the Foreign Affairs Committee's proposal be considered as the basic motion, to which modifications have been proposed by SzDSz and FKGP. Vote should first be taken on the modified committee proposal, then on the original proposal by the committee, and finally on the FIDESz motion. Torgyan says that for reasons of form the FIDESz proposal cannot be voted on. Szabad asks the Assembly nonetheless to vote on the FIDESz motion, and refrain from adhering to the house rules, in order to prevent bad feelings on the part of FIDESz.

After consultation with Assembly Secretary Istvan Soltesz, Szabad says it is in their means not to adhere strictly to the house rules. First, there should be a vote on the first two proposals; if these are not accepted, there will be a vote on the FIDESz motion. There is a vote on modifications proposed by SzDSz and FKGP: 148 in favor, 47 percent of those present. Forty-nine percent oppose the modified proposal; four percent abstained. Modifications are not accepted. However, confusion arises over the votes, and the vote is repeated on the committee statement as modified by SzDSz and FKGP: 158 in favor, 190 against, 13 abstentions. The modified statement is rejected.

A vote is taken on the original Foreign Affairs Committee draft statement: It is accepted with 198 votes in favor, 149 votes against, and 15 abstentions. Szabad announces the committee sessions that are to be held after National Assembly proceedings conclude, and he states the venues of these meetings. Szabad then says that numerous telegrams have been addressed to the Assembly on the occasion of its founding session. He underlines the significance of these greetings and the encouragement they give the Assembly in its work. Szabad says the Assembly will next meet at 0800 GMT on 9 May. The Assembly has reason to feel that it has accomplished useful tasks at its constituent session, says Szabad, and he closes the session.

National Assembly Committees Approved, Listed

LD0305115190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0735 GMT 3 May 90

[List of committees and committee memberships approved at the Hungarian National Assembly founding session in Budapest on 3 May]

[Text] [Acting Speaker Szabad] I read out the parliament decree, which is confirmed by vote with six against, 11 abstentions, and 343 yes votes—that is, 95 percent of those voting—that we will bring a resolution simultaneously about the founding of the committees, the participation of our fellow deputies in them, and about the functionaries of the committees.

I ask Balaza Bardos and Katalin Bossanyi, clerks, to read out the proposal with which my fellow deputies are familiar from the proposal already distributed to them. I ask Katalin Bossanyi to start the introduction of the proposal.

[Bossanyi] First, I would like to inform the deputies that two seats of the committee posts are unfilled at present because the two deputies' mandates are still disputed. After having settled this dispute, the two committees will be complete.

The parliament will create the following permanent committees and subcommittees, the members of which are as follows:

1. Permanent committees:

Constitutional, Legislative, and Judicial Committee: 26 members.

Chairman: Dr. Laszlo Salamon, MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]. Vice-chairmen: Dr. Istvan Balsai, MDF; Dr. Jozsef Torgyan of the Independent Smallholders' Party. Secretary: Dr. Peter Hack of the SzDSz [Alliance of Free Democrats].

Members: Dr. Janos Ader, FIDESz [Federation of Young Democrats]; Dr. Istvan Balas, MDF; Dr. Laszlo Csoma, independent; Dr. Matyas Eorsi, SzDSz; Dr. Zoltan Gal, HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party]; Istvan Halasz, MDF; Dr. Miklos Hanko Farago, MDF; Dr. Jozsef Horvath, MDF; Dr. Sandor Keresztes, Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP]; Dr. Gyorgy Kiss, MDF; Dr. Imre Konya, MDF; Mrs. Imre Konya; Dr. Katalin Kutrucz, MDF; Dr. Tibor Molnar SzDSz; Dr. Miklos O. Molnar, Independent Smallholders; Dr. Miklos Palos, Christian Democratic People's Party; Dr Katalin Remport, MDF; Dr. Janos Szabo, Independent Smallholders; Dr. Jozsef Szajer, FIDESz; Dr. Istvan Szigethy, SzDSz; Dr. Peter Tolgyessy, SzDSz; Dr. Pal Vastagh, HSP; Dr. Miklos Vekony, MDF.

Self-Governing, Administrative, Internal Security, and Police Committee:

Chairman: Dr. Ferenc Wekler, SzDSz. Vice-chairmen: Dr. Istvan Borocz, Independent Smallholders; and Balazs Horvath, MDF. Secretary: Dr. Laszlo Sovago, MDF.

Members: Balazs Bardos, Independent Smallholders; Dr. Jozsef Debreczeni, MDF; Dr. Miklos Gaspar, Christian Democratic People's Party; Csaba Hamori, HSP; Roza Hodosan, SzDSz; Dr. Tivadar Horvath, SzDSz; Istvan Illessy, MDF; Dr. Fabian Jozsa, MDF; Maria Korodi, SzDSz; Huba Kozma, MDF; Dr. Laszlo Koever, FIDESz; Balint Magyar, SzDSz; Dr. Karoly Mezey, MDF; Dr. Bela Mizsei, Smallholders; Laszlo Sesztak, Christian Democratic People's Party; Dr. Erika Szabo, SzDSz; Gyorgy Szabo, HSP; Tamas Tirts, FIDESz; Janos Toth Kurucz, MDF; Tihamer Toth, MDF; and Andras Varsanyi, MDF.

Foreign Affairs Committee: 23 members.

Chairman: Gyula Horn, HSP. Vice-chairmen: Gyorgy Csoti, MDF; Istvan Hegedues, FIDESz. Secretary: Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, SzDSz.

Members: Dr. Jozsef Bratinka, MDF; Dr Miklos Csapodi, MDF; Dr. Gabor Demszky, SzDSz; Dr. Andras Attila Fodor, MDF; Jeno Gerbovics, Smallholders; Dr. Geza Ivan, Smallholders; Dr. Sandor Karosay, Christian Democratic People's Party; Zoltan Kiraly, MDF; Laszlo Kovacs, HSP; Jozsef Mozs, SzDSz; Andras Pap, MDF; Zsolt Rajkai, Smallholders; Gabor Roszik, MDF; Gyorgy Sandorfy, MDF; Janos Szentagothai, MDF; Dr. Peter Szel, MDF; Miklos Tamas-Gaspar, SzDSz; Miklos Vasarhelyi, SzDSz; Matyas Zombori, SzDSz.

Defense Committee: 24 members.

Chairman: Dr. Gyorgy Balogh, Independent Smallholders Party. Vice-Chairmen: Bela Kiraly, Imre Mecs, SZDSZ; Dr. Erno Raffay, MDF. Secretary: Gabor Perjes, MDF.

Members: Jozsef Annus, HSP; Janos Balogh, SzDSz; Sandor Bejczy, Smallholders; (Miklos Board), Smallholders; Matyas Ficzere, SzDSz; Dr. Antal Gaal, MDF; Lajos Horvath, MDF; Dr. Ferenc Janos Inotai, Christian Democratic Party; Tamas Katona, MDF; Kalman Keri, MDF; Andras Nagy, SzDSz; Dr. Andras Paris, SzDSz; (Jeno Oda), MDF; Miklos Szabo, SzDSz; Bela Szarvas, MDF; Dr. Laszlo Szendrei, MDF; Sandor Szili, HSP; Istvan Toth, MDF; and Tamas Wachsler, FIDESz.

Budget, Tax, and Finance Committee: 26 members.

Chairman: Karoly Attila Soos, SzDSz. Vice-Chairman: Istvan Bethlen, MDF; Dr. Laszlo Bekessi, HSP. Secretary: Dr. Pal Becker, MDF.

Members: Laszlo Bogar, MDF; Lajos Bokros, HSP; Katalin Botos, MDF; Bela Csepe. Christian Democratic People's Party; Sandor Deak, SzDSz; Dr. Gyula Fekete, MDF; Dr. Tibor Fuzessy, Christian Democratic People's Party; Dr. Ivan Kadar, SzDSz; Kristof Kallay, independent; Sandor Komor, MDF; Andras Kosa, Smallholders; Gabor Kuncze, SzDSz; Dr. Laszlo Matyi, SzDSz; Dr. Ivan Petho, SzDSz; Dr. (Istvan Fohankovics), Smallholders; Dr. Gyorgy Schmaschula, MDF; Tamas Szabo, MDF; Klara Ungar, FIDESz; Mihaly Varga, FIDESz; Kalman Vincze, Smallholders; Dr. Tibor Zimanyi, MDF; and here there is a vacant post kept for MDF which will be filled later.

Economic Committee: 26 members.

Chairman: Dr. Akos Peter Bod, MDF. Vice-Chairmen: Dr. Laszlo Lakos, HSP; Marton Tardos, SzDSz. Secretary: Laszlo Sarossy.

Members: Zoltan Bogardi, MDF; Pal Dragon, Smallholders; Bela Glattfelder, FIDESz; Dr. Zoltan Hatvani, SzDSz; Pal Juhasz, SzDSz; Peter Juhasz, Christian Democratic People's Party; Kalman Katona, MDF; Lajos Kosa, FIDESz; Dr. Karoly Lotz, MDF; Dr. Zoltan Mihaly, MDF; Dezso Nagy Varga, Smallholders; Bela Nemeth, Smallholders; Imre Palkovics, MDF; Janos Palotas, MDF; Laszlo Pal, HSP; Dr. Nandor Rott, KDNP; Csaba Siklos, MDF; Dr. Ivan Szabo, MDF; Gabor Szalay, SzDSz; Gyula Teller, SzDSz; Mrs. Varga, nee Ildiko Piros, independent; Dr. (Gyula Veszek), MDF.

Social and Health Committee: 26 members.

Chairman: Dr. Gyula Kis, MDF. Vice-Chairmen: Geza Arato, SzDSz; Dr. Miklos Baranyai, MDF. Secretary: Dr. Pal Kovacs, HSP.

Members: Gabor Boros, Christian Democratic People's Party; Dr. Fereno Biro, MDF; Dr. Judit Csehak, HSP; Dr. Karoly Eke, independent; Dr. Csaba Faklya, SzDSz; (Imre Hrajna), FIDESz; Dr. (Tamas Fain), SzDSz; Gabor Havas, SzDSz; Fereno Kapitany, Smallholders; Dr. Zoltan Katay, MDF; Dr. Andras Kelemen, MDF; Gabor Kovacs, Christian Democratic People's Party; Dr. Sandor Kulin, MDF; Jozsef Lakatos, Smallholders; Laszlo Madi, FIDESz; Endre Pokory, MDF; Dr. Erzsebet Pusztai, MDF; Ottilia Solt, SzDSz; Lajos Szabo, Smallholders; Dr. Laszlo Szekelyhidi, MDF; Dr. Gyorgy Szigethy, SzDSz; Dr Bela Vizi, MDF.

Environmental Protection Committee: 23 members.

Chairman: Miklos Lukats, KDNP.

Vice-chairmen: Dr. Sandor Papp, MDF; and Mihaly Raday, SzDSz.

Secretary: Dr. Mrs. Laszlo Tarjan, FKGP [Independent Smallholders Party].

Members: Antal Belafi, FKGP; Dr. Zoltan Daroczy, HSP; Jozsef Getto, SzDSz; Dr. Janos Gyurko, MDF; Dr. Miklos Horvath, MDF; Karoly Javor, MDF; Sandor K. Keresztes, MDF; Dr. Robert Kiss, SzDSz; Bertalan Komenczy, SzDSz; Dr. Laszlo Kovacs, MDF; Bela Meszaros, SzDSz; Dr. Peter Meszaros, MDF; Attila Nagy, HSP; Dr. Janos Pap, FIDESz; Jozsef Pinter, FKgP; Ferenc Schmidt, MDF; Dr. Zoltan Szeleczky, MDF; Jozsef Werner, SzDSz; Lajos Zsebok, MDF.

Cultural, Educational, Scientific, Sport, Television, and Press Supervisory Committee 25 members.

Chairman: Dr. Ferenc Kulin, MDF.

Vice Chairmen: Laszlo Nadori, SzDSz; Istvan Prepeliczay, FKgP.

Secretary: Istvan Elek, MDF.

Members: Tibor Balazsi, MDF; Gyorgy Banffy, MDF; Kata Beke, MDF; Zoltan Bremer, SzDSz; Denes Csengey, MDF; Istvan Csurka, MDF; Antonia Haga, SzDSz; Dr. Sandor Kavassy, FKGP; Ferenc Kosa, HSP; Dr. Peter Molnar, FIDESz; Tibor Nyerges, MDF; Dr Karoly Rab, SzDSz; Laszlo Rajk, SzDSz; Szilard Sasvari, FIDESz; Dr. Lajos Szabo, FKGP; Sandor Toth, KDNP; Dr. Emese Ugrin, KDNP; Zoltan Varga, MDF; Ivan

Vitanyi, HSP; Attila Zsigmond, MDF; and one vacant place is being held for the SzDSz here.

Human Rights, Minority, and Religious Affairs Committee: 25 members.

Chairman: Dr. Gabor Fodor, FIDESz.

Vice-chairmen: Dr. Tamas Lukacs, KDNP; and Dr. Istvan Meszaros, SzDSz.

Secretary: Dr. Andras Baka, MDF.

Members: Vilmos Beleczky, FKGP; Janos Figler, MDF; Dr. Lajos Fur, MDF; Dr. Gyorgy Giczy, KDNP; Aladar Horvath, SzDSz; Vilmos Horvath, SzDSz; Dr. Richard Horcsik, MDF; Jozser Istvan, FKGP; Gabor Ivanyi, SzDSz; Mrs Robert Jakab, HSP; Dr. Attila Kalman, MDF; Jeno Kovacs, HSP; Laszlo Kovats, FKGP; Geza Laborczi, SzDSz; Zslt Nemeth, FIDESz; Tamas Raj, SzDSz; Rudolf Szauter, MDF; Sandor M. Szucs, MDF; Dr. Albert Toth, MDF; Dr. Janos Varga, MDF; and Dr. Zsolt Zdtenyi, MDF.

Now follow the separate committees. In order, the first is the Procedural Committee, with 14 members.

Chairman: Dr. Imre Konya, MDF. Vice-chairman: Dr. Bela Katona, HSP. Secretary: Dr. Istvan Szigethy, SzDSz.

Members: Dr. Janos Ader, FIDESz; Dr. Istvan Fodor, independent; Dr. Akos Gali, MDF; Dr. Miklos Gaspar, KDNP; Dr. Peter Hack, SzDSz; Izabella B. Kiraly, MDF; Imre Korosi, MDF; Dr. Mrs. Imre Konya, Katalin Kutrucz, MDF; Miklos Omolnar, FDgP; Dr. Janos Szabo, FKgP; Dr. Peter Tolgyessy, SzDSz.

Electoral and Mandate Examining Committee: 12 members.

Chairman: Rezso Nyers, HSP. Vice-chairman: Dr. Tamas isepy, KDNP. Secretary: Rudolf Novak, SzDSz.

Members: Dr. Ibolya David, MDF; Dr. Akos Gali, MDF; Janos Herczeg, KDNP; Ferenc Kapitany, FkgP; Laszlo Korosfoi, HSP; Dr. Istvan Meszaros, SzDSz; Dr. Josef Szajer, FIDESz; Zsuzsa Szelenyi, FIDESz; and Kalman Vincze, FKgP.

Immunity and Incompatibility Committee: 12 members.

Chairman: Sandor Olah, FKgP. Vice-chairman: Tamas Deutsch, FIDESz. Secretary: Dr. Istvan Balas, MDF.

Members: Dr. Istvan Borocz,FKgP; Gyula Csefalvay, KDNP, Dr Matyas Eorsi, SzDSz; Dr. Miklos Hasznos, KDNP; Mrs Kosa, Dr. Magda Kovacs, HSP; Dr. Endre Monotori, SzDSz; Laszlo Paszternak, HSP; Zoltan Trombitas, FIDESz; Dr. Tibor Zimanyi, MDF.

National Security Committee: 13 members.

Chairman: Dr. Gabor Demszky, SzDSz. Vice-chairman: Zoltan Szokolay, MDF. Secretary: (Vilmos Bereczky), FKgP.

Members: Dr. Gabor Fodor, FIDESz; Dr. Zoltan Gal, HSP; Dr. Csaba Ilkei, MDF; Dr. Zoltan Katay, MDF; Dr. Sandor Keresztes, KDNP; Dr. Ferenc Koszeg, SzDSz; Imre Mecs, SzDSz; Laszlo Petronyak, MDF; Bela Szarvas, MDF; and Dr. Bela Kovacs, FKgP.

[Bardos] Esteemed National Assembly. In order to ensure the continuous functioning of the National Assembly, for the formation of the agenda of its meetings, for the preparation of committee debates on bills and other proposals, for the prior coordination of the most important personnel decisions affecting the National Assembly, a house committee is being created.

The chairman of the house committee is the chairman of the National Assembly; its members are the deputy chairmen of the National Assembly, as well as the leaders of the parties' deputy groups, and the representative of the independent deputies. The deputy chairmen of the National Assembly do not have a vote at the meetings of the house committee, and the chairman of the National Assembly has a vote only if a casting vote is needed.

Proposal To Restore Nagy's Citizenship

LD0305121490 Budapest MTI in English 0744 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 3 (MTI)—The founding session of the National Assembly continued its work on Thursday [3 May] morning, at a few minutes after 9 a.m.

Gyorgy Szabad, acting speaker of parliament, first ascertained that 357 MPs [members of parliament] are present at the session. Prior to continuing the agenda, Jozsef Ference Nagy (Independent Smallholders' Party), moved to restore the citizenship of former Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy and his associates. The proposal is to be submitted to the Constitutional Committee of parliament.

In the following, Arpad Goncz, interim president of the republic, commissioned Jozsef Antall, president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, to form the new Hungarian Government.

National Assembly Agenda Altered

LD0305121590 Budapest MTI in English 1057 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 3 (MTI)—The various groups of the Hungarian National Assembly held discussions on Thursday [3 May], breaking off the plenary session, and at variance with the agenda.

The Foreign Affairs Committee asked its members to attend a closed session at noon: The committee is expected to formulate a position about Lithuania. The parliamentary groups also opened talks.

Leaders of the parliamentary groups will also meet with each other prior to the opening of the afternoon plenary session.

Grosz on Publication of Kadar Documents

AU0405125790 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Apr 90 pp 1, 5

[Report on interview with Karoly Grosz, former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party general secretary, by Katalin Rangos in Budapest on 25 April: "Kadar-Documents—Grosz: I Handed Them Over Without Reading Them"]

[Excerpts] The report published in the NEPSZABADSAG issue of 25 April ("Where Are the Original Documents From Kadar's Safe?") has become the focus of our domestic political life. The Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] also dealt with this issue at its meeting held on 25 April. As is well known, in the aforementioned report, the editors of the recently published book "Documents That Have Not Been Incinerated" claimed that they received the secret documents from Karoly Grosz last year. Karoly Grosz confirmed this in his interview given to Katalin Rangos on 25 April, an interview aired in the "Roundtable Discussion" program on Hungarian Radio. The radio program, led by Janos Simko, also included, among others, Sandor Balogh, general director of the Institute of Party History; Dr. Sandor Nyiri, first deputy chief prosecutor; Archivist Beatrix Bareczky; Mrs. Matyas Imre, head of the Archives of the Institute of Party History; and reporter Peter Vajda.

We are publishing now a shortened version of Katalin Rangos' interview with Karoly Grosz.

Answering a question on when and how he received the documents and why he handed them over to the authors of the aforementioned book, Karoly Grosz said the following: Following a long discussion in April or May 1989, Janos Kadar gave him some unsorted files, claiming that he had neither the strength nor the time to sort them out and put them in order. Quoting Kadar's words, Grosz said that Kadar did not want to cause harm, but he did not want the information to be lost either, information that could be used in the future. Karoly Grosz also mentioned that Janos Kadar did not tell everything, even in private conversations, because he was unable to decide the extent to which he should reveal what happened.

[Rangos] Was he distrustful?

[Grosz] No, he was not. He repeatedly said that he deeply regretted the fact that he had not stepped down in 1975, or in 1980 at the latest. If he had done so, there would have been time for renewal and involvement in the new leadership, and he would have had time to sum up his experiences.

[Rangos] Let us go back to the documents. Did you know what type of documents Janos Kadar had handed over to you?

[Grosz] He said they were unsorted files and asked me to look them over and use them as I saw fit. This is the exact story. Everything else is only garnishing. [passage omitted]

[Rangos] When the idea of a volume of political interviews emerged, you handed these documents over to the authors so that they could use them for your political portrait, or for describing the political scene that existed then. Why did you hand them over?

[Grosz] For precisely the second reason, because I was also surprised to read in the NEPSZABADSAG that the authors were preparing to write some kind of biography about me. There was no talk of this at all. We talked about what happened between June 1987—when I became premier—and October 1989.

[Rangos] What made you think about handing these documents over to the authors?

[Grosz] I told them that there are some documents here which I have not really studied myself. I thought that some of these documents might be used to better understand the period in question. I told them to think about using them in some way. [passage omitted]

[Rangos] Rumors have it that documents on Imre Nagy are also in your possession, and that you are hiding documents on Imre Nagy in your safe which you will publish at the proper time. What is the truth about this? Can we expect new surprises?

[Grosz] First, it would be a great surprise for me if you found a safe in my house, because I do not have such a thing.

[Rangos] When these rumors hit the street, you did have a safe.

[Grosz] Yes, I did have a safe at the time. Naturally, the documents on Imre Nagy were copies. The place which made these copies generally did not hand over the originals.

[Rangos] Did these documents originate from the Soviet Union?

[Grosz] Yes, they came from there. At my personal request, Gorbachev helped us get some of the relevant documents. [passage omitted]

[Rangos] What about these documents?

[Grosz] I presented them in a report to the Central Committee. I am no longer bound by the decision of the Central Committee, and I will make these documents public when I feel that the time has come for this.

[Rangos] In other words, these documents are now in your possession?

[Grosz] No, several copies were made after receiving them. Most probably, the bulk of these documents lies in

the party headquarters. I have only those which I used for my report. [passage omitted]

Pozsgay on HSP Activity, Parliamentary Faction

AU0405080090 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Apr 90 pp 1,3

[Report on interview with Imre Pozsgay, head of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) parliamentary faction, by Andras Szentkiralyi in Budapest on 26 April: "Pozsgay: Patience Toward the New Policy—HSP and Opposition"]

[Excerpts] I have the impression that this was a regular theft, Imre Pozsgay said in connection with the Kadar documents, and added that he did not have adequate information about the affair. The following interview was made in the recess of the conference of heads of parliamentary factions held on 26 April. We asked Imre Pozsgay about the concept of "successor party" and about how he envisaged the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] and of its parliamentary faction in the future.

[Szentkiralyi] The expression "successor party" in connection with the HSP is constantly on the agenda, either as a definition immediately after the October congress, or as a stigma. What is your opinion about this today?

[Pozsgay] I regard this attribute as pejorative and I reject it. The HSP does not follow the political guideline of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] in anything, although a firm reformer force emerged in this party. One of these reformer trends was the social democratic one that joined the party following the unification in 1948, and the other was the trend that was called reform communist or national communist for a long time. The latter was initiated by Imre Nagy. It emerged in its most developed form in the government program of 1953 and in Imre Nagy's role during the revolution of 1956. The HSP accepts all these antecedents, but it rejects the bolshevik tradition and the concepts of proletarian dictatorship and class struggle, concepts that have always determined the communist trend. [passage omitted]

[Szentkiralyi] The political activity of the HSP parliamentary faction will tell what kind of party the HSP really is. What is the proportion of the various trends in this group?

[Pozsgay] This faction has an adequate content both politically and professionally. Various platforms are represented in this faction proportionally and according to their weight. Naturally, there are also a lot of well-known politicians in this faction who will greatly contribute to the activity of the parliament with their professional knowledge.

[Szentkiralyi] Is the concept of faction discipline known to you?

[Pozsgay] Yes, but we are talking about a faction discipline accepted voluntarily. In other words, the group of HSP deputies in Parliament determine their policy themselves, and not through some kind of party instruction. [passage omitted]

[Szentkiralyi] Do you agree with Rezso Nyers who said after the second round of elections that, in the market-building activity of the new government, the HSP faction will primarily watch for the social and social policy aspects?

[Pozsgay] I accept this, because we cannot give up this "calling to account." However, we will also be tolerant toward the government in order to enable them to continue its rationalization policy. The great role of the opposition will be to demand justification for every action of the government and to be able to freely decide whether to support these measures or not. Otherwise, there will be no parliamentary democracy in Hungary. [passage omitted]

'Democratic Roundtable' Refuses To Admit HSP

LD0305124190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] The Debrecen opposition roundtable [as heard] has rejected the Hungarian Socialist Party's [HSP] application for admission. Erno Peter Kis supplies the details:

[Begin Kis recording] We believe that all parties operating in Debrecen have a place at the democratic roundtable, goes the HSP's argument in the letter asking for admission. However, the parties of the Debrecen Democratic Roundtable [Debreceni Demokratikus Kerekasztal] do not share this opinion. Prominent in their reply of refusal is that at its congress, the HSP regarded itself as the successor party to what originally was the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP]. The signs of the Stalinist way of thinking and interest assertion will be perceptible until the local elections, especially in the countryside, where the members of the HSP and former members of the former HSWP occupy places in key positions in self-governent and the economy. The objective of the Debrecen roundtable is to create a spontaneous, democratic setup. It also points out that it does not regard the HSP as a democratic party.

It proved to be an important counter-argument that the HSP has still not given an account of its assets. The Debrecen Democratic Roundtable at the same time is not completely and conclusively turning a deaf ear to the HSP. It is ready to exchange opinions in matters that require consultation. According to our information, the HSP's Debrecen organization is preparing to reply in the matter. [end recording]

MDF's Jeszenszky on Foreign Policy Strategy

AU0305182790 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Apr 1, 6

[Report on interview with Geza Jeszenszky, head of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Attila Seres; place and date not given: "Hungary Can No Longer Be Secluded"]

[Excerpts] Recently, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] listed the Foreign Ministry among the important government positions for which the party intends to nominate its own representative. Geza Jeszenszky is known to belong to those who formulated the foreign policy strategy of this party. [passage omitted on biographical data]

[Seres] The events in Hungary in recent months and the change in the regime following the parliamentary elections represent a personal victory for you. What will this change in the regime bring in our foreign policy?

[Jeszenszky] The MDF foreign policy concept has two major points. A broad Europeanism—including America due to its cultural traditions, the origin of its inhabitants, and their roots—in which we must reintegrate ourselves, in its cultural and economic sphere. The other, more narrow task facing the Hungarian foreign policy is to settle our relations with the neighboring countries, and focus on the fate of the Hungarian minorities living there. This is the essence of the MDF's policy toward the West and East.

[Seres] In many respects, this can also be interpreted as a direct continuation of the recent Hungarian foreign policy....

[Jeszenszky] The Hungarian foreign policy, which we could continue, emerged only in the past one or one-and-a-half years. It would be more correct to say that Hungarian foreign policy accepted the long-claimed principles of the opposition, including the demands of the MDF for increased care for the Hungarian national minorities living in the neighboring countries. We have always claimed that we can adequately solve this problem only in cooperation with the relevant neighboring governments, by constantly maintaining our contacts with various international forums. These two areas are interrelated: In addition to negotiating with neighboring governments, we can most successfully represent the case of Hungarian minorities in the framework of European institutions. [passage omitted]

[Seres] How will the change in the foreign policy regime affect the development of our relations with the Soviet Union?

[Jeszenszky] From the beginning, the MDF stressed that, while we intend to create Hungary's real independence, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops is a basic condition for this, we cannot forget about Hungary's geographical position—namely, that we are living in the vicinity of a world power with which we must remain in good relations by all means. Moreover, I am convinced that these relations can also be improved. Good relations which are not forced upon us could also benefit Moscow more than the previous situation of dependence. Take the example of Finland which has always been a better partner to the Soviet Union than to a East Europe constantly struggling with economic and political crises.

However, we must also consider the fact that we depended on the Soviet Union both politically and economically. This must be changed by all means. Unilateral dependence on the supply of raw materials and energy can be fatal for a small country. On the other hand, we must maintain the Soviet Union as an important exporter of energy and we must find the Hungarian products that can adjust to the Soviet demands and which are suitable for balancing our energy imports. It is in our fundamental interest that the Soviet economy improve and modernize and that the Soviet Union be able to import goods from Hungary. Therefore, it is important for our political measures to be thoroughly considered, by focusing on our economic interests. [passage omitted]

[Seres] In the present state of affairs, the Soviet Union is not only our neighbor but also our ally. Therefore, we must talk about the future of the Warsaw Pact, an organization that has thoroughly changed in the past two years, in the wake of the changes in East Europe. If we take a look at the Warsaw Pact, what can we expect in the Hungarian-Warsaw Pact relations in the future?

[Jeszenszky] I am glad you asked this question, because I also think that the Warsaw Pact has changed in the wake of the revolutions in East Europe. Although no major change has taken place in the structure of the Warsaw Pact, its content has changed radically after most of its member states opted for a democratic and pluralist political regime. Partly because of this, our membership in the Warsaw Pact is less disturbing for us today. In addition, the Warsaw Pact also represents a defense system for Hungary today, because, either individually or as a neutral country, Hungary could build a necessary defense force only at the price of considerable financial sacrifices.

On the other hand, we do not see any reason for a long-term presence of the Warsaw Pact either. The issue should be settled through negotiations between the participating states, and the Warsaw Pact should be eliminated with a joint agreement. [passage omitted]

[Seres] Many people fear that, following the previous unilateral orientation, the MDF will now lead Hungary into another sphere of interests, into the German sphere, which brings bad memories.

[Jeszenszky] Only those who do not read our program and declarations can fear this, or those who have preconceptions about the MDF. Although we welcome the moral support coming from Germany, which we basically deserved for our handling of the East German

refugee affair, we constantly stressed that Hungary would be able to overcome its current crisis situation only by means of multilateral support. Therefore, I constantly stress that the unilateral political orientation prevailing so far cannot be replaced by another unilateral orientation. [passage omitted]

Cultural Leaders Refused Entry to Lithuania

LD0305140390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Hungarian guests will not be able to participate in the Hungarian cultural week starting tomorrow in Lithuania. The hosts invited Peter Gardos and Andras Jeles, film directors, and the leader of the Hungarian cultural center in Moscow for the event. They asked permission for the visit well in advance. The Soviet authorities, however, rejected the request of the representatives of Hungarian culture at the last minute, referring to the presidential decree restricting the travel of foreigners to Lithuania.

FRG Cooperates in Joint Publishing Venture

LD0305123790 Budapest MTI in English 1103 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 3, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Advertising Ltd, a Hungarian-West German JV [joint venture] set up in February this year, is to publish a new newspaper which will be the first in Hungary to carry classified advertising free of charge. Business advertising, however, from both Hungarian and foreign clients, will not be free.

The newspaper, which will initially appear fortnightly, will consist entirely of advertisments, following the success of a sample edition in April. The first edition, of 50,000, will appear on Friday, will contain 12 pages rather than the originally planned 8.

Ninety-five per cent of the 2 million forints (U.S. $30,000) capital of Advertising Ltd has been put up by the West German partner, and the Hungarian stake is represented by the remaining 5 per cent, held by private individuals.

FRG's Von Weizsaecker Continues Visit

Polish Leaders View Talks

LD0305115590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 3 May 90

[Excerpts] Political talks took place this morning at the Warsaw residence of the FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker, with Bronislaw Geremek and Krzysztof Skubiszewski in turn.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] After leaving President Richard von Weizsaecker's residence, Bronislaw Geremek told reporters:

[Geremek] I regard Richard von Weizsaecker as one of the great moral and political authorities in contemporary Europe. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] And this is what he said on the border problem.

[Geremek] I would like to say, above all, that as I see it, it is not a problem of the border on the Oder and Neisse. It is a problem of Polish-German relations. Both yesterday's declaration by President von Weizsaecker and my talks today leave me in no doubt as to what President von Weizsaecker's stance is. However, the point is, what is the stance of the Federal Republic, and what is the stance of the unified Germany, the Germany which is now uniting? Regarding this issue, I hope that the talks that are beginning between the two German states and Poland will lead to the creation of essential guarantees, which will remove the Oder-Neisse border issue from Polish-German relations. This requires, I believe, the treaty-based solution proposed by the Polish Government. I hope that this will happen, and then I believe that nothing will hinder Polish-German agreement and reconciliation.

[Reporter] An hour later, Minister for Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski left President Richard von Weizsaecker's residence.

[Skubiszewski] The issue of concluding a Polish-German treaty concerning relations, I am talking about a treaty with a future unified German state and so this treaty is still a matter for the future; but it is on the right road, talks have already begun, we will see how things develop. The talks will no doubt be difficult, but, in any case, we are doing not only a great deal in this direction, but in fact, everything, and the contacts are very intensive, and my conversation with President von Weizsaecker was very good. We discussed various important moral and political issues, also concerning Polish-German relations at the human level. I believe that it is a very good thing that a statesman of such high caliber as President von Weizsaecker has come to Poland and has been able to meet various people here and to hold talks and present to us this very high standard, from the moral and ethical point of view, of looking at political affairs. [end recording]

Details of Visit Reported

LD0405014190 Warsaw PAP in English 2023 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 3—Political talks were the first point on the agenda of the second day of the FRG's President Richard von Weizsaecker's visit to Poland.

Von Weizsaecker's Meeting With Geremek

This morning, the FRG's President Richard von Weizsaecker received in his Warsaw residence chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group Bronislaw Geremek. After the meeting, Geremek made a statement for the press in which he said:

"I consider Richard von Weizsaecker as one of great moral and political authorities of contemporary Europe. After the talk with him I have a feeling that the democratic, reviving Poland finds in the FRG's president not only a friend but also a great European partner. I would also like to add that in my opinion the Oder-Neisse border problem does not exist but there is a problem of Polish-German relations.

"Both the statement made by President Von Weizsaecker yesterday and my conversation with him today do not leave any doubt as to the president's stance on this matter. The point is, however, what the stance on the FRG is, what the attitude of a united Germany is, the Germany that is uniting at present. I hope that the talks which are starting between the two German states and Poland will lead to the creation of indispensable guarantees which will remove the Oder-Neisse border issue from Polish-German relations.

"This needs, I think, a treaty solution suggested by the Polish Government. I hope it will be like this and then there will be no obstacles to Polish-German agreement and reconciliation," Geremek said.

Meeting With Skubiszewski

Later, President Von Weizsaecker met with Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski who after the meeting told PAP:

"My assessment of the talks is very positive. The matter of the treaty with the future united Germany is on a good road. Talks on this subject have already started. I am very pleased with the talks with President Von Weizsaecker. I think it has been very well that a statesman of such a great caliber as President Von Weizsaecker arrived in Poland and could meet with various people and present to us this very moral and ethical way of perceiving political issues. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Immediately after these meetinggs, the West German president arrived at the monument to the heroes of Jewish ghetto, the site of the first clashes between Jewish fighters and the Nazis in 1943. The president laid a wreath in the national colours of his country.

President Von Weizsaecker spent some time talking with representatives of the Jewish commune, Rabbi Menachem Joskowicz and vice-chairman of the commune Pawel Widlstein who expressed a conviction that a visit at this site by the FRG's president is an important element in building reconciliation with Germans.

Visit to Treblinka

At noon, Richard von Weizsaecker with his wife arrived in Treblinka. In the forest there is a symbolic cemetery with ashes of prisoners of the Nazi forced labour camp for Poles, the so-called first Treblinka camp. Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski was awaiting the FRG guests there.

The two presidents laid wreaths at the monument to pay homage to the prisoners of that camp who in the years 1941-1944 worked in a nearby gravel mine.

More than a half of 20,000 prisoners either died of emaciation or were killed, head of the museum in Treblinka Winnicjusz Trebicki told the FRG president. The name of Treblinka is mainly associated with the Nazi extermination camp built in 1942. There were 13 gas chambers in which Nazis killed more than 800,000 people of Jewish origin.

Richard von Weizsaecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski laid flowers at the monument.

The FRG President had a short conversation with Zygmunt Nissenbaum, the president of the Nissenbaum Foundation set up to save monuments of Jewish culture in Poland, who put forward a proposal of establishing a museum in Treblinka in cooperation with Germans in order to commemorate the annihilation and warn against the repeating of the barbarity of Treblinka.

The FRG president received at his residency here today Sejm (lower house) and editor-in-chief of GAZETA WYBORCZA Adam Michnik.

I asked the FRG president how was it possible that Germans who had such difficult historical experience managed to protect themselves from hatred and build in the FRG an order in which there was a place for an ideal of ecumenical society, which the Polish premier spoke about. I told the FRG president that I wished people playing a key role on the Polish political scene to be as open to the reasons of others as President Weizsaecker is open to the Polish ones and be as critical towards themselves as he can be towards Germans, said Michnik.

I can also add that the temptation not to seek any guilt in oneself and to put the entire responsibility on others is particularly dangerous, Michnik stressed.

In the afternoon, Richard von Weizsaecker met at a dinner with members of the Europa Club and representatives of the Stefan Batory Foundation, at Jablonna Palace near Warsaw. The FRG's president was greeted by chairman of the Europa Club Bronislaw Geremek and chairman of the Stefan Batory Foundation Zbigniew Bujak.

The Europa Club associates Poland's leading politicians, social activists and representatives of Polish scientific and cultural circles. The aim of the club is to support the process of building European society and mutual understanding in its broadest meaning. President Von Weizsaecker delivered a lecture inaugurating the work of the club.

While expressing his thanks for the recognition in Poland of the unification of Germany as the right and natural process, the West German president presented his own vision of how the uniting Germany will influence the European process. He recognized the verification and overcoming of old stereotypes about neighbours to be a difficult but necessary task in German-Polish relations.

While referring to the concept of the German-Polish community of interests suggested by Minister Skubiszewski, President Von Weizsaecker pointed to the constructive realism of this idea.

Unreserved recognition and respect for the present-day borders and territories, vesting the existing alliances with larger political tasks and expanding economic cooperation to such a degree that it would lead to mutual economic dependence were recognized by Weizsaecker as an important part of strivings for the security policy.

President Von Weizsaecker saw the future of European cooperation in giving institutional frames to the CSCE process and in the striving to create European confederation, the uniting Germany can, in his opinion, play the role of a catalyst in this sphere.

At the end, the president thanked the participating intellectuals for their contribution to the dialogue between Germans and Poles, to the development of German-Polish relations and European culture.

On behalf of the Polish Government the floor was taken by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. He said the road to such Polish-German meetings was not easy. We, Poles, had to accept what a great Polish writer said that it was people who prepared such fate for others. We had to become aware of the significance of these words to understand that it was not Germans but people who prepared such fate for other people. It was very difficult for us, said he.

I believe that of fundamental significance for the future European order is Polish-Soviet and Polish-German reconciliation, stressed Mazowiecki. We must replace the theory of two enemies functioning in the past with a theory of two friends, said he.

Visit to Old Town and Museum of Literature

Also today, the FRG president took a short walk through the old town and attended the inauguration of an exhibition "A book knows no boundaries" at the Adam Mickiewicz Museum of Literature. The exhibition is devoted to German-Polish cultural relations in literature.

Meeting in Lazienki

President Richard von Weizsaecker and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki met for the second time, during the FRG president's visit to Poland, late today. Their over two-hour-meeting ended shortly after 11 p.m.

After the meeting Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki told PAP: "We held a profound talk concerning both Polish-German subjects and all these problems which face us in connection with German unification as well as those concerning broader, pan-European issues. It seems to me that this talk was held in a good climate and with lot of understanding.

These talks, I believe, greatly support the development of Polish-German relations, at least due to this fact that President Von Weizsaecker is deeply committed to these matters. He is not a neutral person but the one who is greatly involved in Polish-German reconciliation. It seems to me that his whole visit will serve making matters that we have discussed develop in the desired way as well as the general atmosphere of Polish-German contacts.

Arrives in Gdansk

LD0405111690 Warsaw PAP in English 1017 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Gdansk, May 4—FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker, who ended today the official part of his Polish visit, arrived at the Rebiechowo Airport near here. During a two-day unofficial trip he is to visit the coast and northern region of Warmia.

The German president and accompanying him persons were welcomed by the voivodship authorities and then they went on a tour of the Gdansk old town.

Gen. Siwicki on Soviet Troop Withdrawals

AU0305115790 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with National Defense Minister Army General Florian Siwicki by Andrzej Jezewski; place and date not given: "With Regard to Security Interests"]

[Text] [Jezewski] Several days ago, Soviet Defense Minister Army General Dmitriy Yazov visited Warsaw. His visit aroused great interest and I would like you, Mr. Minister, to give details of the talks that were held at the Ministry of National Defense and which, for obvious reasons, could not be included in the public communiques. What was the purpose of General Yazov's visit?

[Siwicki] It was certainly not just a courtesy visit. I invited General Yazov, who was inspecting Soviet units of the Northern Group of Forces, to come to Warsaw to discuss the outcome of the recent meeting between the Polish President, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, and President Mikhail Gorbachev.

[Jezewski] It was widely expected that your talks would produce the final decisions on Soviet troop reductions in Poland. Did this happen?

[Siwicki] Yes, this issue took up most of our discussion time. Obviously, as military men, we saw the problem from the point of view of our two countries' security interests. The 50,000-strong Soviet Army Northern Group of Forces is a component of the grouping that preserves the military balance in our part of the continent. That is why the overall solutions related to the continued stationing of Soviet troops in Poland, and in accordance with our governments' positions must be, and in the future will be, incorporated into the process that is creating a new system of European security.

Nevertheless, certain reductions of forces and their technical and support infrastructure are possible right now. The tendency toward detente in Europe and the changes in Soviet doctrine tending to a defensive character make this possible. It is worth recalling that we are not starting from zero. Last year, several military units were withdrawn from Poland and it was then decided to withdraw the assault brigade stationed in Bialogard in 1990. Currently, and within the framework of this process, additional concrete moves will now be proposed.

[Jezewski] What criteria were considered when you came to decide which unit should and which should not be withdrawn?

[Siwicki] Generally, it was the prospect of easing the burden on the local population, although it was clearly impossible to exclude factors of a purely military nature. Brzeg is a good illustration. Two Soviet airforce units are stationed there. In accordance with the agreement, one of these units, a unit that is equipped with very noisy aircraft will be withdrawn. Some of the aircraft will be removed to the Soviet Union and some will stay in Poland, but will be based at a different airfield, an airfield that is situated away from large population concentrations.

[Jezewski] But one of the air regiments will remain in Brzeg.

[Siwicki] Yes. It is not possible to withdraw this unit just yet. It uses less noisy aircraft. Moreover, in accordance with the obligations undertaken by the Soviet side, there will be strict curtailment of flights in order to minimize the inconvenience to the city. For example, the night-flight training program will be carried out in the Soviet Union.

[Jezewski] Apart from the noise reduction, will the city benefit in any other way?

[Siwicki] We anticipate that among other things, about 200 dwellings will be handed over to the city. In view of this, I do not think I have to elaborate how beneficial this decision is for Brzeg.

[Jezewski] What was the decision in relation to the military unit in Torun?

[Siwicki] Before the end of this year, with the closest cooperation of the Polish Army, this unit will vacate its buildings and land and these will then be handed over to the city. We are talking about some 250 hectares of land which could be designated for housing construction. Similar changes are foreseen for other units, namely, a helicopter regiment will leave Legnica and relocate to an airfield near Kolobrzeg. The helicopter squadrons stationed there at the moment will leave Poland altogether.

[Jezewski] Did you also discuss the financial and economic issues applicable to the remaining Soviet units?

[Siwicki] We agreed that these are issues that require agreement and decisions at government level. In general, the point of the exercise is to ensure that the conditions applicable to the stationing of Soviet troops should reflect the new social and economic situation in Poland, especially market economy principles.

At the same time and in conjunction with the Ministry of Communications, we have prepared a draft international agreement that will apply to the use of the telecommunications network.

[Jezewski] What are the applicable regulations in relation to coordinating joint action undertaken by the Soviet Army's Northern Group of Forces and the Ministry of National Defense?

[Siwicki] In accordance with the 1957 agreement between our respective governments, the commander of the Northern Group of Forces must inform the minister of national defense of any changes in the composition of the troops under his command at least once every six months. Soviet troops have prearranged transit routes between various military training areas. Permission from Polish authorities is required before any troop movements take place. Some five to seven days before a planned troop movement, the Soviet command informs the Polish Army Main Headquarters of the timing, route, and destination in order to obtain this permission. It also informs us of the composition of these troops.

[Jezewski] As for training exercises, what procedures apply?

[Siwicki] Training maneuvers of Soviet troops beyond their stationing bases can be carried out in accordance with the plans agreed with the Ministry of National Defense. Such agreement must be obtained at least a month before the intended maneuvers.

[Jezewski] Do similar conditions apply to ship movements and aircraft flights?

[Siwicki] Yes. For example let us look at temporary port calls by Soviet warships to the region of their permanent stationing. Each such visit requires notification of the Polish Navy command. This notification must be received no later than 24 hours before the ship's intended arrival. Flights in and over Polish airspace by Soviet aircraft must comply with "The Principles of International Flights by Military Aircraft of Warsaw Pact Member States Through the Airspace of these Countries." The direct coordination of movements in Polish airspace is in the hands of the National Air Defense Forces command.

[Jezewski] Finally, the last question. Many people are asking about the future of the Warsaw Pact and the outlines of cooperation, including military cooperation, between member states.

[Siwicki] I am against the various wide ranging interpretations on this theme, because I look at the question from the angle of the superior interest of the state's security. The preservation of peace and the security of borders is the supreme interest of the Polish Republic. The Warsaw Pact, celebrating its 35th anniversary this year, has played an important role in this field and although in the history of this alliance there have been certain actions which from today's perspective cannot be considered as positive, it cannot be argued that the Warsaw Pact was a passing episode in our history. It was an important factor in our national defense.

There are political forces in Europe that are still interested in weakening the Warsaw Pact. In the meantime, NATO plays an important role in the development and the comprehensive integration of Western Europe. This is of crucial military and political significance. Many European politicians not only want to preserve the Warsaw Pact, but to develop it further. The logic behind this is supported by past and present developments, and will be borne out by the future. Obviously, we cannot ignore the developments in Warsaw Pact member states. That is the reason why we need to strengthen the political character of this alliance and improve its mechanisms of cooperation on the basis of democratic principles. On this point there was full agreement with Defense Minister Yazov.

Senate Speaker Interviewed on USSR Visit

AU0205121790 Warsaw RZECZPSPOLITA in Polish 25 Apr 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski by Jan Forowicz; place and date not given: "Parliamentary Kitchens"]

[Text] We asked Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski, speaker of the Senate, for his impression of his official visit to the USSR.

[Stelmachowski] This was the first time a Polish Senate delegation paid an official visit to the USSR. The visit opened up new possibilities for cooperation between the parliaments of both countries. I am happy to say that it is the Soviet side that suggested broader contacts.

[Forowicz] What were you most frequently asked about?

[Stelmachowski] I was asked about the workings of the Senate, its cooperation with the Sejm, and the reasons why Poland switched to a bicameral parliamentary system. My interlocutors were interested in the accord reached among the forces inside parliament after the 4 June 1989 elections and in the legislative problems caused by this. I think they listened to me very attentively, also when I described how we have eliminated these problems.

Unfortunately, my delegation did not have enough time to take a look inside the USSR parliamentary kitchen, but I trust this shortcoming will be corrected by Polish parliamentary committees during the expansion of contacts with the equivalent Soviet committees. I know that the people's deputies of the USSR have a lot of experience which we could borrow, for example a foreign affairs committee shared by both parliamentary chambers. Foreign affairs is one sphere in which both chambers should see eye to eye.

[Forowicz] The conclusion is a straightforward one—more energetic contacts between parliamentarians encourages the process of democracy.

[Stelmachowski] As I said, our Moscow hosts presented these very desirable initiatives. But the scope thereof is broader than that. Anatoliy Lukyanov's very kind invitation to establish direct contacts applies not only to parliamentary committees, but also to various kinds of parliamentary groups and clubs which are not considered official. I consider this offer to be evidence of the exceedingly rapid changes occurring in the USSR. The Soviet Union is successfully adopting the general practice in democratic countries of contacts by visiting delegations, not only with the present government, but also with groups that might assume power one day.

[Forowicz] Did you have a chance to meet with opposition elements, if I may call them that?

[Stelmachowski] Yes. We met them in Moscow and then in Minsk. I think we should be more interested in the very energetic groups that are emerging in the USSR, groups that probably represent the future. The "Rebirth" Front of Belorussia, whose representatives I met in Minsk, created the impression of being an organization that perceives social problems in a broad context, is able to reach the heart of an issue, and calls each issue by its proper name. These were people of very high caliber. One ought to stress that people from the "Rebirth" Front are trying to win sympathizers among the Polish community in Belorussia.

[Forowicz] Could you tell us some more about the Polish community in the USSR?

[Stelmachowski] One of the Senate's tasks is to look after our compatriots abroad. We presented our hosts with several proposals and postulates. First, we sought concessions to facilitate the emergence of Polish associations, and we asked that the principle of political pluralism be applied to such organizations, formed by Poles who are USSR citizens. Second, we said we thought that Polish schooling should be more widespread, especially in areas where there are a lot of Poles. The number of Polish schools has increased in recent years, but it is easier to establish such schools in some republics than in others. Sometimes, Polish is taught as a foreign language. We think that in those places where there are a lot of Poles, other subjects should be taught in Polish as well. Then we will be able to offer the schools specialized help from Poland.

[Forowicz] The expectations addressed by these Poles to the land of their fathers are a moral obligation for us. But to what extent can we fulfill it if we are poor in material resources?

[Stelmachowski] It is not just material prosperity that counts. In the next few years there will probably be assistance from Poland. Cultural, educational, and religious contacts will develop, contacts which are of primary importance. They need not necessarily involve material prosperity.

[Forowicz] The changes in the USSR are proceeding at a fast pace, but do you not think that many Soviet citizens are not yet ready to accept the full truth about the Poles being victims of crimes perpetrated by the previous system of power?

[Stelmachowski] We have observed such attitudes, for example a delay in revealing the truth about NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] involvement in the Katyn massacre. I have always said that this delay does not encourage friendly Polish-Russian relations. But one has to say that without this truth, there is no question of the catharsis that is so necessary in order to open new chapters in mutual cooperation and in the revival of Polish communities in the USSR. That is why I received with such relief the admission of the truth about Katyn during President Jaruzelski's Moscow visit.

In the land of perestroyka, Poles who are USSR citizens are considered natural allies of progress. This is advantageous for our compatriots, for it creates better opportunities for Soviet Poles to integrate and tighten their bonds with Poland. In this way it is easier for them to preserve their national identity and be more involved in democratic changes in the USSR. I think our contacts, including the first official USSR visit by a Senate delegation, plus increasingly numerous meetings between parliamentarians, will encourage such a development of events.

PAP, RFE Cooperation Agreement Signed

LD0205200990 Warsaw PAP in English 1534 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 2—The Polish press agency PAP and the Radio Free Europe of Munich signed today an agreement on cooperation in exchanging information.

According to the document, PAP will send a Polish-language information service for the RFE Polish section. The agreement also envisages exchange of bulletins, and other forms of cooperation.

Foreign Economic Minister Visits Iraq

WA0405114590

For Iraqi reportage on Foreign Economic Cooperation Minister Marcin Swiecicki's visit to Iraq, including talks with Iraqi First Deputy Prime Minister Taha Yasin Ramadan and agreements on trade and economic cooperation, see the Iraq section of the 3 May issue of the Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Jaruzelski Speech Celebrates 3 May Constitution

LD0305194190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1802 GMT 3 May 90

[Speech by President Wojciech Jaruzelski to representatives of the Diplomatic Corps at Warsaw Royal Castle on the anniversary of the Constitution on 3 May—live]

[Text] Standing within the walls of the Royal Castle, symbol of the continuity of our state, of the strength and vitality of the nation; looking at this Polish relic—the original of the Constitution, which fate has decreed should be preserved to this day—it is impossible not to be moved, nor to prevent the thought that this yellowed document is the true Ark of the Covenant between the former and the new years.

The Constitution was the work of the most enlightened minds of its epoch: a victory for patriotism over renegation, of intelligence over ignorance, of the common weal over private interests. It was above all, as an historian has written, an independent national act. This great work was destroyed, at the instance of foreign powers and our own weaknesses. Polish history would have taken a different course, if we had been allowed to put the Constitution's principles into practice. But the gratitude of succeeding generations has endured. The profound patriotism and progressive democratic ideals of this great charter of our nation have withstood the storms of history.

The Constitution was born out of the bitter lessons of the past, out of a fervent concern for the strength and integrity of the state, for the human rights of all its citizens. Internal order, external security, the harmonious coexistence of all estates: This was the central idea of the best of our nation, those who created and supported the government statute. It is a sign of our times that today we are returning with such solemn ceremony to that symbol of Polish democracy, sovereignty, and justice.

Those far-sighted pages, which were recorded, are for us Poles not only a reason for pride. Once they heralded an alarm for the weak and endangered state. In our times they are, and remain, a signpost for today and tomorrow, the source of courage, but also a warning that even the most noble work can be ruined, if the good of the Republic does not become the supreme law for all citizens, and if it is not accompanied by national accord—if one does not have friends both near and far away.

Are we capable of translating that May testament into the language of the present day? Will we successfully pass the historical exam? We have such a chance. Today it depends on the nation, on its choice and will, as to how it will organize its future.

Poland is in the vanguard of the changes; Europe and the contemporary world are sympathetic to them. With that thought I greet all the diplomatic representatives present here, representing so many states with which we desire to develop good, friendly, and mutually advantageous relations.

A century and a half ago during the celebrations on the 50th anniversary of 3 May, it was said that Poland was a tree of nine and more centuries, from which increasingly new shoots were growing. That wise sentence reminds one that only a nation which appreciates the need for change, which is open toward the approaching times but at the same time is aware that one must not forget about the lessons and experiences, about the continuity of history, that can develop. Whether they brought brilliance or darkness, it was always our Polish native history.

The struggle and toil of the last two centuries have not been wasted. The message of the 3 May Constitution has been permanently kept in the memory of the Poles. At present, its anniversary has again become a national holiday. Let the May dawning, which is preserved in a song, shine with a new and strong radiance. Let it be a guiding star leading toward the success of the nation, toward the glory of the Polish Republic. [applause]

Opinion Poll Favors Mazowiecki for President

LD0405083690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 4 May 90

[From the press review]

[Text] According to a poll carried out by the Public Opinion Research Center which ended on 24 April, Tadeusz Mazowiecki is the most suitable candidate for president, GAZETA WYBORCZA writes. Twenty-four percent of those polled were in favor of him, 19 percent chose Bronislaw Geremek, and more than 16 percent

opted for Wojciech Jaruzelski, who was ahead of Lech Walesa by half a percentage point.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki enjoys the support of all the groups or strata of Polish society. Bronislaw Geremek was chosen by people with higher education from large cities. The Polish countryside showed Wojciech Jaruzelski in the first position, with Lech Walesa following. Almost half of those polled held the opinion that the presidential elections should be advanced.

Geremek on Coalition, Elections, President

LD0205211890 Warsaw PAP in English 1830 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 2—A meeting between Deputy Bronislaw Geremek and parliamentary reporters gave journalists a chance to ask the chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club OKP several questions. One of them concerned the functioning of the parliamentary coalition. Geremek replied: The fact that Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government is still in power and that it continues to implement the policy outlined in premier's expose, shows that the coalition with the Democratic Party and the Polish Peasant Party bears fruit. However, Geremek also pointed to some cracks in coalition cooperation.

Geremek stressed that future parliamentary elections would be held at the end of the first quarter of next year.

As for OKP's attitude towards the government Geremek said: We identify ourselves with the government, we support it, our relations are friendly but very often dramatic, we are a critical friend of the government.

Speaking on OKP's attitude towards the president, Geremek said: The agreement adopted last year is functioning efficiently. There is no conflict between the pace of democratic changes and transformations in the state and political stabilization, and the president is one of its elements.

Asked whether he will appear as the prime minister in a tandem with Lech Walesa as president, Geremek expressed a conviction that two personages play and will continue to play key roles in the Polish public life, Lech Walesa and Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Solidarity's Current Status, Concerns Viewed

PM0205144390 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 17 Mar 90 p 4

[Jagienka Wilczak article: "What Kind of Solidarity?"]

[Text] At times of economic crises the laws of the jungle prevail, Solidarity press spokeswoman Barbara Malak says. This is why we need a strong trade union instead of a citizens' movement. Today the union must see to it that justice is done.

In the ideal world the reform would be implemented concurrently in both spheres: economic and political. The other, political, leg of the reform is still dragging behind. In Gdansk, they are saying at National Executive Committee [KKW] headquarters that this does not mean criticism of the program as such.

All we want is for the government to understand the workers' situation: So much has changed for the better in Poland, and yet they are being thrown out into the street by the same people as before. People feel that the burden of the transformations is heavy on their pockets. They find it more difficult to bear this when they fail to see any traces of political responsibility. This is why they are not indifferent as to who will take the top offices. Today these offices should be filled by people from outside the realm of the nomenklatura. However, looking at things from the trade union viewpoint, they see that the ranks of enterprise nomenklatura are under protection: Layoffs only hit those in the production sector, never the administrative personnel. This is why we do not agree to mass layoffs. First we demand to see a program for improvement of the situation.

Janusz Palubicki, KKW Presidium member, says that the layoffs are not always justified by the rigors of the reform. The old authorities often settle old scores in this way. The KKW receives telexed complaints from all over the country: Nothing has changed in the field; the only change is the disappearance of the upper echelon which used to protect the nomenklatura. But the latter still fares quite well: It does not recall its members from their positions, but organizes itself at the economic level and consolidates its power. "We have not had a revolution which would sweep away local power structures," Palubicki says. "The same people who spent long years building up their elaborate power structures today hand in layoff notices on the government's behalf. There is pressure on us from Solidarity grassroots: Do something about it or we will lose our patience."

Jaroslaw Kurski, Lech Walesa's spokesman, also stresses that the key to the reform is replacement of mid-level personnel. It is easy to explain why: The success of the reform depends on the attitudes of the people themselves. On their acceptance, their trust, and their licence to act. If they see that the local authorities have been replaced, they will be more willing to make sacrifices. This is not a substitute measure, but a fundamental step: As far as the farmer is concerned, his authorities govern from the parish administrative body, not from Warsaw.

At the same time, the government warns against violent upheavals and the premier says that you cannot rip everything apart in the country just like that. The Solidarity side replies to this as follows: "We share the same goal and the same ideals with the government, but everything along the path to this goal can divide us." Walesa also insists that he will support the government although it is he who takes the rap for decisions made by Mazowiecki and Balcerowicz.

Virgin Trail

"Everything we have ever done was both dangerous and difficult," answers Jacek Merkel when asked whether

Solidarity does not fear the problem of unemployment. "It has always been so: We feared and we fought. Now we are facing new dangers, but if Poland is to become a normal country, there is no other way than through the reform. No one promised us it would be easy and safe."

Unemployment is the most painful part of the reform. Although, to tell the truth, certain employee groups were always unemployed, even though they took their wages home. There was even a saying: "It may be chickenfeed, but everybody gets the same." J. Palubicki has no doubts that the former system of social security was illusory and that it brought the economy to its knees. "This was the essence of the con game played on us by communism: The system that did not work reinforced false notions in people's minds. Today we know this much: Solidarity must somehow cope with the question of unemployment even though it looks as if its extent will overwhelm the union's internal resources."

Not wanting to be surprised by developments, the KKW Office for Economic Policies set up the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity [NSZZ] Economic Fund. Its function is to assist the union's action program during the process of moving to the new system of market economy. The idea is for Solidarity to have a ready pool of offers for its members during this period—for example, vocational training projects. The approaching period could easily be seen as a time of great injustice. It is to be expected that sharp criticism will be leveled at Solidarity. People will curse Solidarity and write messages on walls saying that the times of "the commune" were better because no one got fired from a job then. Palubicki says that he nevertheless expects people to show understanding. After all, the goal itself is easy to achieve: to abandon communism. Surely the operation itself cannot be done without sacrifices?

When the date of the first meeting between the KKW Presidium and the government was announced, a whispered campaign in Gdansk began to claim that Walesa declared an end to his exhortations to brotherly love. True, the table in the Office of the Council of Ministers was round, but the sides took their seats opposite one another. The talks were difficult. Someone suggested that a formal record of the differences between the sides be drawn up. The occasion was made more poignant by the fact that a year ago they sat at the roundtable together representing one side. When asked for her opinion, Barbara Malak says that the situation is slowly becoming more normal. The union is becoming an adversary (which is not to say an enemy). However, popular opinion still insists that to oppose this government is tantamount to having one's own child drowned. All the same, differences in the perspective from which the two sides view things are unavoidable. For example, the government is happy with the new act on mass laying off of manpower, whereas the unions criticize it. "When the government suggests that we should wait a while before amending the act, the union can agree. Should the government refuse to talk about it, the union would have to protest. This is the essence of negotiations: to gain a little for one's own side instead of each side tripping the other up."

There are no taboo areas in talks with this government. Instead, there is a new problem: While in the old days previous government teams scrupulously complied with the decisions and observed the deadlines agreed upon in earlier talks (that is, until they delegalized Solidarity), the present one does the opposite. A recent example being quoted as illustrative of this practice involves the fate of the parliamentary bill on the state prosecutor's office: The government promised to consult with the union, but instead the KKW in Gdansk learned from a television news announcement that the bill was passed to the Sejm, and the relevant documents only reached the union's legal bureau the following day. "Relations with the government could be better, but they are not bad enough yet for us to start complaining," Kurski says. The union's central office appointed a bureau for liaison with the government as early as 1980. Its head, Roman Rojek, says that the bureau's heyday is long gone. There was a time when they were all groaning under the workload, but these days Rojek often wonders whether he is still needed here. Direct, even personal contacts have eliminated the need for the bureau's mediation services. Union activists are capable of making their own contacts, since virtually each of them knows somebody in the present government. Regional organizations are also managing very well and do not call Walesa to the rescue any more.

"There was a time when the dividing line was quite clear," sighs Janusz Palubicki. "One side was right, the other wrong. Today things are very different. The alignment of forces between the union's central authorities, the government, and parliament is viewed in terms of personal relations (the names used are 'court,' 'family,' and 'retinue'), this being the consequence of the faulty democracy, whereby the government lacks a party backup system. In normally functioning countries it would be quite immaterial whether or not a person had spent a night with strikers in a shipyard or down in a mine and had to sleep on a sheet of polystyrene [reference to Mazowiecki during the Lenin Shipyard August 1980 strike]. We can expect that things will eventually change for us here, too, because the situation demands such changes: The union is supposed to fulfill its statutory duties and protect the working people, while the government must implement the reform which will hit these same working people. Walesa understands this perfectly. He says: 'We must not forbid the government to implement the redundancy scheme. On the other hand, we must be ready to help those who have been made redundant.'"

The fact that in Poland the government is the largest and virtually sole employer makes it very difficult to conduct negotiations. (According to what I heard at KKW headquarters, negotiations have recently been hindered even further by the absence of Lech Kaczynski, currently immobilized in the hospital.)

A Ball at the Opera

"Solidarity is no longer the pointer on the scales reflecting world opinion," B. Malak maintains. "As soon as the democratic government and parliament appeared on the scene, they took Solidarity's place as the more attractive partners for the world outside. Especially as businessmen dislike and fear trade unions anyway, since they perceive them as representing a threat to their interests. And Solidarity has a reputation as a militant union. Unless, of course, you listen to Walesa as he talks about Solidarity."

The door to his office is invariably besieged by a milling crowd. Each day at least half a dozen papers or television crews apply for an interview with Walesa. There is a four-week long waiting list. Sometimes reporters arrive unannounced because they have not been able to get through to Gdansk on the telephone. This makes things difficult. In any case, reporters can make a lot of trouble, like the recent rumpus involving Sweden's Lars Persson. He has enjoyed a trusted person's status for years and the press office did not demand to see the text of the interview prior to its publication. And the inevitable happened: Walesa was quoted as saying that Poland needs rule by dictatorship. The press office issued a categorical denial, but Lech's enemies already seized on such a tasty morsel. The provocative quotation was advertised on wall posters throughout Silesia: There, you got what you were asking for!

On 29 December 1987 the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW] and the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee were thrown into a state of alert. A telexed message arrived from Gdansk, creating an awkward predicament for the addressees. Colonel P. forwarded the following intelligence for the information of his superiors: "Today Lech Walesa approached one of our officers and gave him the following message: Please convey my cordial greetings to all your bosses on the occasion of the New Year. I would be grateful if you could arrange for three tickets—for myself, my wife, and Mr. Henio—as it is my desire to celebrate New Year's Eve with the PZPR Voivodship Committee secretaries and the voivoda at either the Voivodship Committee headquarters or the Opera. We will pay for the tickets. Please pass this message to your superiors urgently, for I will call to make sure if my request has been received."

The matter was treated with complete seriousness. Top level officials conferred late into the night over what reply should be sent back to Gdansk. But Walesa had no intention of calling again to check on the fate of his request: It was just a joke. Today the whole affair could be treated as another argument in a debate on the dispensability of the whole Security Service [SB] apparatus.

"As a Catholic, Walesa does not attack the SB; he takes a charitable view," Krzysztof Pusz, head of the chairman's secretariat, claims. "He approaches the problem prudently. He even chastises those militiamen who blacken the names of their own colleagues from the same sector. Walesa knows what he is doing. Although he is being urged to act with more determination, he knows that people say: We are afraid of them. The most committed radicals in the union recommend that the SB be delegalized. But on the whole people are conscious of the fact that anyone pushed into a corner will tend to defend himself by fair or foul means."

Hearsay reports in Gdansk say that Walesa will end up as president. His press spokesman maintains that no preparations to that effect are being made. All the same, he is known to make unexpected decisions. In the meantime, Walesa himself announces that he does not even intend to fight for the union chairmanship at the congress: The boat can stay afloat without the helmsman. Well, unless he perceives some clear danger to the union: Then he will change his mind.

The Hour of Truth

The argument around the question: "What kind of union?" is still not settled. In J. Palubicki's view, it will not be settled as long as the reconstruction of the economy continues. The congress is expected to bring many new solutions. B. Malak disagrees with creating the alternative: The union must either take the line which insists on compensatory pay increases or engage in joint stewardship of enterprises. It must do both, as the interests of the union will depend on the functioning of enterprises.

Walesa does not conceal his hopes that a political backup system essential for normal elections will eventually emerge. He says that it is high time to vote for programs and not for faces on posters and slogans. However, he would not like the union to drop anchor firmly by the side of any of the contending groups. To look at this from a different perspective: "Walesa is also afraid of the emergence of a single political force which could create a monopoly and subordinate all aspects of life to it." He keeps repeating that evil is an immanent component of all monopoly, and this is why he has promised to fight the monopoly of Solidarity, too.

"From the viewpoint of the chairman's office," the spokesman claims, "we do not observe the phenomenon of 'position swapping,' or exchanging one monopoly system for another." But people still think along the customary lines. The Communists ruled supreme before, just as Solidarity rules supreme now. "Our tragedy is that we constitute a major force in this country," Kurski says. This stereotyped assumption is especially firmly ingrained in institutions accustomed to taking orders, such as the television. "Each recommendation coming from this office is received by them as if it were a Central Committee injunction. The stereotype is as follows: The command center has changed, but the working principles remain intact. If you want to save your skin, you must act exactly as before. But," K. Pusz asserts, "there have been no instructions from the national office recommending that party members be dismissed. If a person is

good at his job, he should work; if he is bad, he should be fired regardless of whether he hails from the party or from Solidarity. People who have proved their worth in combat are not always the best workers."

"But at the same time we already hear voices claiming that we have assumed the role of monopoly holder," Palubicki remarks. These voices come either from the side of the former PZPR or the new groups which still have no popular backing. "If this were true, it would be total insanity: We would quickly go the same way that the PZPR has gone. Where can we find the people to ensure that we will not duplicate the model in which the status of being 'one of us' serves as the best qualification for a job?" Palubicki muses. He himself would favor a system whereby a category of posts involving political accountability would be set apart. The party which intended to fill these posts would have to secure support from the electorate and, once filled, personal changes in these posts would be conditional upon the results of the elections.

Union Monies

K. Pusz believes that from now on union membership dues will suffice to finance the central structures and there will be no need to reach into other union funds. There was a time when the KKW offices were easily financed by revenue from just one region, Gdansk, but that time is long gone. Union membership has gone down. Economies are being made in the central office, too. Training is financed by the Free Trade Unions Central Office. With the single exception of the Brussels branch, all Solidarity offices abroad have been closed. Union papers are not receiving any subsidies, either: They have to earn their keep themselves. All this is being done because Solidarity finances are not doing well—not any better than the finances of its members. Union membership dues come in only irregularly. There are regions where they have not been collected at all owing to the alleged "provisional nature of the situation." Certain regions, such as for example Jelenia Gora, have not paid at all to date. It is unclear what can be done about them because the union statute does not envisage such a case at all. Organization of financial matters are not up to par in enterprise commissions. Regional spokesmen try to excuse their troubles by claiming extra expenses, for example for vehicle purchase or preparations for congress. In this situation the proposal that the union buy the Monopol hotel in central Gdansk and transfer its central offices there (after expensive repairs and refurbishing) invited many critical reactions. The debate on the project came to nothing and the whole thing duly fell through. On the other hand, it is expected that the planned celebrations of Solidarity's 10th anniversary will be financially viable: Festivities of this kind are profitable the world over.

Union leaders' salaries are in line with the national average, while office personnel earns less than the national average. This is why there is a shortage of specialists (for instance, lawyers). There are fewer people ready to work in experts' commissions. There are cases of people leaving for financial reasons. The ones who stay put are generally the young: They are curious and enthusiastic, and they feel the need to take part in something important.

From an objective viewpoint it seems that the situation is improving because union membership is growing. Away from the big cities the union is only beginning to develop, and this takes place precisely in the struggle against nomenklatura. All the same, areas of uncertainty, such as the question of cooperatives, still persist. Voices are heard complaining that no young people join the union. Does this affect Solidarity's position? Bogdan Borusewicz [Gdansk Regional Solidarity Board chairman] insists that it does not. "The union is made up of people who were around 30 years old in 1980 and are now nearing 40. The difficulty will only appear when the average age reaches 50 and no new faces appear." (TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, issue No. 8). Others believe that the union is not an attractive place for the young people today: If you are an activist, your life involves mostly sitting on your backside. Does this idea of being active appeal to 30-year-olds?"

We cannot expect to see a changing of the guard at the congress. Delegates from the Gdansk region are Solidarity veterans. Things are similar in other regions. On the other hand, J. Merkel, head of the congress organization commission, expects to see some changes in the union statute. As we change the country, we should be changing ourselves, too. For example, it is high time to enhance the role of branch unions and restrict that of regional organizations.

Solidarity could not afford to hire the Olivia hall for the congress. Instead, it secured the use of the facilities of the Wybrzeze militia sports club.

Sejm Discusses Transfer of PZPR Assets

AU0305114890 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 90 p 3

["em"-signed report: "Do Not Eliminate the Opposition"]

[Excerpts] Jan Lopuszanski (Citizens Parliamentary Club) described the results of the work of the government commission for the assets of political parties as "highly unsatisfactory." A similar attitude toward the commission's report was expressed by almost all the members of the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP] who spoke during Saturday's [28 April] debate. On the other hand, deputies belonging to the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left thanked the commission, which—to remind the reader—recognized the ownership rights of the Social Democratic Party of the Polish Republic [SdRP], the successor to the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], with respect to 23 buildings (out of a total of about 1,900 that were used by the former PZPR).

This property, which the government left the SdRP with, was threatened by a bill (the so-called Lopuszanski law) on turning over all assets that were used by the PZPR to the state treasury. It was signed by 31 deputies drawn from various clubs. As no quorum could be formed and there were signs that a compromise could be found, the Sejm postponed making a decision on the fate of the bill for the time being.

Minister Aleksander Hall said: "The government does not want to treat the opposition in the same way as the parties of the second republic were treated after the war, as opposition groupings were treated in the 1970's, and as 'Solidarity' was treated after 13 December 1981. We are intentionally seeking to introduce an ethic for the political contest according to which one does not eliminate one's rival by depriving him of the opportunity to operate." He acknowledged that the whole affair would never have arisen if the SdRP had displayed "understanding for social expectations" when the PZPR transferred assets. [passage omitted]

The deputies used various arguments during the debate: They included describing one of the deputies as a "blockhead," the statement that "it was thanks to the shedding of blood and the victims of Katyn that the PZPR had power over us" (Deputy Beszta-Borowski of the OKP), and the will of the electorate (Deputy Ciesla of the OKP).

Adam Michnik said: "Views are being expressed here that are full of hatred. That is not a weapon I will use." [passage omitted]

SdRP Asks Former PZPR Members for Support

AU0205142190 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 28-29 Apr 90 p 3

["Letter Addressed to Members of the Former Polish United Workers Party"; place and date not given]

[Text] The question of the identity of the left in Poland is as complex as are today's choices of various positions and orientations. Nevertheless, the system of general values remains unchanged, namely, social justice, democracy, and freedom of conscience. These are the things that are threatened and in danger of being swamped by demagogy. The blame for this—without any attempt at a sober and fair analysis—is being laid at the door of all those people to whom the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of the Polish Republic [SdRP] is addressing this letter.

Poland is threatened by a dictatorship of the right. At present, there are still people in the government who are moderate and sensible. Tomorrow it may be otherwise. The accords of the "roundtable" are being broken. A campaign of intolerance and hate is being organized. Powerlessness in the fight against the crisis is being masked by attacks made against the members of the PZPR, who in the great majority are hard working and honest people.

The peaceful road to democracy is threatened. When this road is abandoned this fact will be the start of persecutions against yesterday's party allegiances and today's views and beliefs. Poland is facing a threat from the poverty of millions of its citizens, growing unemployment, a collapse of its housing construction, a lack of concern for the problems of its youth, degradation of women, the penury of its pensioners, and a collapse of its education and culture. These are all subject to the merciless laws of the free market and the political and behavioral controls of the state.

We must not allow this to come about. It is not just a matter of peace in our homes, but the security of our borders. A Poland that is preoccupied with internal wrangling and dissipating its energies in these conflicts will not have any friends in the East or the West.

Today it is still not too late to oppose the reactionary and conservative forces. Only a strong party of democratic socialism, a party that has in and around its ranks people of the left who are capable of forming effective alliances with other democratic forces, is capable of standing in the way of this offensive.

The Social Democratic Party of the Polish Republic, a party created by the reformist wing of the PZPR that reaches back to the traditions of Polish socialism, wants to become and must become such a party. It is no coincidence that the strongest attacks of the right wing are directed at us. The opposition knows full well who could spoil its plans and who will defend democracy and social justice with his head held high and not from a kneeling position.

Reply to the campaign of intolerance and intimidation by giving your support to the SdRP. It needs you as members, activists, and committed sympathizers.

It depends on you whether Poland will become democratic, just, and self- governing, or whether it will sink into hate and intolerance, splitting into a handful of the rich and the masses of the poor.

The time to make a choice has come.

Central Committee of the SdRP.

National Party, People's Party Form Alliance

AU0305113790 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 28-29 Apr 90 pp 1, 8, 9

[Pawel Smolenski report: "A National Party—People's Party Alliance]

[Excerpt] A new alliance emerged in Poland in the beginning of April. It is not the kind of alliance that was originally intended, but it is good that it worked out at all. Incredible as it may seem, several members of the National Party sent a message to the last congress of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] with an offer of

cooperation, and yet the National Party is as adverse to Communists as the devil is to holy water. Needless to say, the offer was rejected.

Now the National Party has addressed another such offer to the Polish Peasant Party "Rebirth." This time, the offer was accepted. Following this, the National Party and Polish Peasant Party "Rebirth" issued an appeal "to Poles," a kind of program meant to assure the creators of the new alliance success in the local government elections. We read in the appeal:

"Today, at a time when one nomenklatura has left the Polish political scene, a new one is seeking to take its place and assume its monopoly position. This is a threat to the democratic changes in Poland, a threat to the nation. This group of people, people with cosmopolitan views that are alien to us, people who are taking advantage of the popularity of the 'Solidarity' trade union and its leader, Lech Walesa, is striving for power with increasing brazenness. By applying all kinds of arguments against its opponents, it is cunningly hiding the fact that its ideological roots lie in the mists of Stalinist lawlessness. It considers the sale of Polish capital for next to nothing; Poland's economic and political dependence on the West, especially Germany; the severance of national ties; the struggle against Latin civilization; and its own unbridled thirst for power to be the qualities that mark the 'Europeanization' of our country."

Further on we read: "So far, the present government's economic policy has brought a profound drop in industrial and agricultural output, a collapse of public services, a severance of production links, and a fall in the health and standard of living of Polish families. Particularly disturbing is the slump in agriculture and food production, which play a key role in the economy. We are dismayed by the excessive faith in the wonders of a market economy and the almost complete abolition of state intervention in the economy (...) Our program is: a departure from communism—yes; a short cut to capitalism—no. Our road is the Polish road."

Economic Official Interviewed on Privatization

AU0305094290 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Apr 90 p 5

[Interview with Wojciech Goralczyk, government deputy plenipotentiary for changes in ownership, by Wojciech Zaluska; place and date not given: "Nothing For Free"]

[Excerpts] [Zaluska] The draft legislation on privatization, of which you are the joint author, is heavily criticized. One of the most frequent accusations is that the "chairman of the Agency for Changes in Ownership enjoys too many powers" and that the state can intervene in the affairs of enterprises.

[Goralczyk] Our aim is to privatize, in other words to remove the state from enterprises. But before that can happen, the enterprises have to be sold. Therefore they need a salesman. That salesman is supposed to be the chairman of the Agency. However, his powers over enterprises will be extinguished as soon as shares in enterprises go on sale. [passage omitted]

[Zaluska] There are fears that Poland is going to be bought by foreign capital.

[Goralczyk] Foreign investors will be able to buy up to 10 percent of the shares of each company without the Agency chairman's permission. Such a percentage does not involve any danger of taking over an enterprise, and at the time seems an attractive offer for so-called portfolio investors, people who, in order to minimize the risks, buy small quantities of shares in many firms in various parts of the world. In order to buy more than 10 percent of the shares in a company, permission will be required, which means that Western investments will be controlled. Some people even say that this might discourage foreigners from investing in Poland.

[Zaluska] Under what circumstances can the Foreign Investments Agency withhold the sale of shares to foreign customers?

[Goralczyk] First, when an enterprise of singular importance for the Polish economy is in danger of being bought; second, when investors from one country begin to concentrate on selected branches of industry or selected areas of Poland; and third, when some country creates difficulties for Poles who want to invest in that country, in which case we can respond likewise. [passage omitted]

[Zaluska] A shortage of money may be the chief obstacle to privatization. Do you have any idea of how to overcome it?

[Goralczyk] Privatization will not be implemented in all at once, but will be spread out in time. Capital invested in the form of shares will give birth to new capital. Various ways of financing the purchase of securities will be permitted. If enterprise employees set up a bank to finance ownership by the workers, that is good. If they create a bank to collect funds for credits for people outside the enterprise, that is also good. The legislation also envisages the possibility of purchasing shares by installments, in other words the state treasury would provide credits for their purchase. The size of the credits will depend on the state of the budget. [passage omitted]

[Zaluska] Another accusation: Privatization is going to take too long, entire years.

[Goralczyk] There is no need to hurry. Privatization must not be chaotic. We will gather experience on how to control it in line with the first changes in ownership.

However, we know that when the price of shares begins to fall, and thus the savings of people who have invested in these shares become endangered, it will be necessary to slow down privatization and curtail the sale of shares in order to stabilize the prices again.

We must protect the capital market. If we were only concerned about rescuing the budget, as many people claim we are, then we could indeed carry out the privatization quickly, but we are concerned with more than the budget.

Acting Plock, Kielce Governors Appointed

LD0205200790 Warsaw PAP in English 1536 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 2—The prime minister suspended Antoni Bielak in fulfiling the post of Plock voivode [governor] with the intention to recall him from this post after the introduction of regulations of the law on local government organs of general administration.

The premier appointed Jerzy Wawszczak as acting Plock voviode and Jozef Ploskonka as acting Kielce voivode.

New Weekly Publication Appears in Krakow

LD0205180390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] A new independent national weeky published in Krakow called NOWE WIESCI [New Tidings] is to appear in the kiosks today. The print run of the first edition of NOWE WIESCI is 80,000 copies; the price, 900 zlotys.

Demonstrations Continue Throughout Country

In Bucharest, Cluj

AU0305194690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1829 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/5/1990—The unauthorized peaceful meeting organized by the "December 21" Association, "The People's Alliance", the "December 16-21 Association", the Independent Group for Democracy, the Students' League—apolitical organizations that do not sustain any party's platform, continued in the University Square in Bucharest, on May 3.

Several tens of persons were in the square, carrying boards with anti-communist slogans. Likewise, lists were opened in front of the university building, for people adhering to the Timisoara Proclamation to sign in.

A group of some 60 demonstrators, mostly youth, occupy starting May 2 in the evening, the zone around Matthias Corvinus' statue [in Cluj], declaring it "zone free of communism", according to an inscription on a board.

In Bucharest, Timisoara

AU0305204890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] The rally that was started this evening at around 1900 [1600 GMT] by the organizers of the unauthorized demonstrations that began on 22 April continues in Bucharest's University Square. Those who took the floor expressed their support for the Timisoara Proclamation. A protest by the Citizens' Committee for the Independence of the Radio Television was read, in which a stand is taken against the way in which this institution presents the demonstrations in University Square. Criticism was expressed and slogans were chanted against communism, the National Salvation Front, the government, and the minister of interior. Numerous attacks were directed against Mr. Ion Iliescu.

At this hour, on the square in front of the Romanian Opera in Timisoara, there are several thousand citizens who continue demonstrations that began two days ago in support of the Timisoara Proclamation and the national convention that was held in this town on 29 April. Those present at the demonstrations declared an area of about 1,500 square meters a zone where communism and neocommunism is banned. Apart from poems and songs, the participants chant slogans against communism and neocommunism, against the continuous presence of members of the former Ceausescu nomenklatura in the leadership of the country, and they call for the resignation from the government of those who were responsible even before the December revolution for the miserable state of the Romanian people. They also call for the resignation of General Mihai Chitac from the leadership of the Ministry of Interior, and if he will not resign, he should be replaced with a civilian. Likewise, the participants call on the government and the Provisional National Unity Council to publicly withdraw the insults and offenses also made in public against the peaceful demonstrators in Bucharest's University Square. The organizers continue to collect signatures for support of Point 8 of the Timisoara Proclamation.

'Repression' of Protesters Condemned

AU0305133490 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 26 Apr 90 p 1

[Ilie Costache article: "Terror in University Square"]

[Excerpts] Tuesday, 24 April, was a day of "glory" for the forces hostile to democracy. People from all corners of our country who had come to Bucharest to protest the establishment of neocommunism under the aegis of the "wise tyrant," Ion Iliescu, were subjected to—undoubtedly ordered—repression. [passage omitted]

On 25 April, 18 people were brought to the emergency hospital without the relevant documents stating the place where they... had gotten into hot water! Although we have formed our opinion, we leave the further details to you. Are we by any chance approaching another 22 December? The editorial staff of DREPTATEA has provided General Diamandescu [chief of General Inspectorate of the Police] with a list which includes information about the legal status of the people who were mistreated. He has promised to proceed urgently with investigations of the policemen responsible.

We are awaiting a response from the general after investigations have been completed and will keep readers posted.

NPCDP Condemns 'Aggressive Attitude'

AU0305172290 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 26 Apr 90 p 1

["Declaration" issued by the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party; place and date not given]

[Text] The National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party notes with stupefaction the aggressive attitude of the authorities toward the demonstrators who, for some days now, have been demonstrating peacefully but firmly against the dictatorial neocommunist character adopted by the state leadership and against the fact that the nomenklatura and the Securitate bodies are still holding key positions.

Leaving aside our party's political position toward these demands made by apolitical organizations, we feel obliged—in the name of democracy and freedom—to protest against the brutal intervention of the order-keeping forces that mistreated and injured citizens who were without protection, thus reintroducing into public life an atmosphere of terror directed at people who have done nothing but exercise their civic rights.

After members of political parties were brutally attacked by gangs of rowdies from the National Salvation Front, the militia forces themselves became active.

Protected by police shields, Mr. Ion Iliescu ventured out to revile the demonstrators—students, workers, and intellectuals—calling them ruffians and hooligans in front of the whole parliament.

The public is being cheated as a result of the circulation of insinuations and lies and has been intimidated by acts of violence and aggression.

The destabilization throughout the country after 28 January has been caused by the National Salvation Front.

We question the government's right to establish new political obstacles to the detriment of the people.

The National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party

PNUC's Kiraly Condemns Protests

AU0305210090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1853 GMT 3 May 90

["Election Campaign—Declaration of PNUC Vice President Kiraly Karoly"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/5/1990—Kiraly Karoly, vice-president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], conveyed to the ROMPRES news agency a declaration which reads inter alia:

"We have been witnessing for a few days now unauthorized, boisterous demonstrations in some cities of this country, that claim not to be political and that cause worry and concern. In a period in which the atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion in which the country was long kept by Ceausescu's dictatorship is still present, any attempt to cause disorder and chaos accounts for a serious obstacle to a normal unfolding of our society's steady democratization."

Expressing his disagreement with such demonstrations, Karoly Kiraly considers that the elementary rules of democracy cannot be disregarded and the electorate cannot be substituted by a few thousands or tens of thousands of demonstrators that should decide the destiny of the power for the people and in the name of the people. He condemns the political quarters that instead of having a dialogue with the country, instead of offering the electorate platforms with constructive ideas and solutions for every voter to cast his or her ballot after a clear option, resort to insinuation, lie, inciting to destabilizing actions, to an escalation of violence.

"Now, when the election campaign is in progress in the country, when on May 20, after half a century of dictatorship, we will elect the country's constituent assembly, we must give proof of civic discipline and maturity", stressed Karoly Kiraly, concluding:

"We should let the fundamental problems of the country's future development, the logical continuation of the revolution, including the options stipulated in the Timisoara Declaration, be decided on lucidly and purposefully by the whole people, based on the democratic options offered by all political parties and bodies of our pluralist democracy."

Liberal Party Urges Calm, Dialogue

AU0305163890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1440 GMT 3 May 90

["Election Campaign: NLP Appeal"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/5/1990—The sociopolitical crisis in Romania has grown, has become explosive, assesses the National Liberal Party in an appeal to "quiet and reason, to a climate congenial to dialogue". "It is only through understanding that we will be able to economically, socially, politically and morally rebuild Romania. All political formations, including the National Salvation Front, must contribute to this process."

The document lists a few ideas that should make up the framework for reconciliation and discussion:

"The National Salvation Front must give up its claim to be the emanation of the revolution, a fact that would confer on it a certain legitimacy in relation to all the other political formations that emerged subsequently. A breach has been created in the Romanian society: There are those who have understood that the old structures strive to appropriate the merits and fruit of the revolution, on the one side, and there are those who although wanting freedom still believe in the sincerity of those who govern, on the other side."

"It is up to us all, up to the seriousness and consciousness of each one of us to have this country become democratic again. Romania was not a communist country, the number of believing communists in 1990 is surely smaller than in 1945.

"A clear-cut discrimination must be made between all those who worked honestly and the minority of the communist nomenklatura."

"We should struggle to be convincing by our principles and not by attacking the opponents calumniously and without arguments."

"The political debate must proceed under the token of salvation of the national interests, ruling out any kind of interference and foreign influence."

Orthodox Church Calls for Dialogue

AU0405094690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0834 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/5/1990—The Romanian Patriarchy addressed the political groups "a warm and insistent appeal to listen to each other" considering that

"dialogue will contribute to the assertion of our spiritual unity within a legitimate and necessary pluralism."

What concerns the leadership of the Romanian Orthodox Church "is not what political party will win the elections but what is the people to win after the elections," the document reads. "It does not promote the love of power but the power of loving the common good."

It recommended the Orthodox clergy not to join any political party, but refrains itself from advising them in connection with their political option. "This neutrality of the oldest and largest institution of the Romanian people does not mean it is indifferent to the major, profound aspirations of all people who express themselves during the electoral consultations. Now the church can note three major aspirations:

1. The ardent wish of the Romanian people for the promotion of freedom and human dignity.
2. The wish for moral and spiritual renewal as a liberation from communism, atheism, falsity and lie.
3. The wish for social justice, on a both civic and personal level, that is the assertion of the common good and of the unique value and dignity of each human.

The church supports, through its prayers and urges, the attainment of these profound aspirations of the people, the appeal also reads.

Press Views Demonstrations

AU0305200490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1756 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/5/1990—The major Bucharest publications run contradictory, sometimes diametrically opposed opinions on this topic:

ADEVARUL, an independent newspaper that states it does not support any party's election campaign: Demonstrations, organized by the very parties that voted the election law, are a downright denial of their signatures. Like demonstrations, which escalate tension, are a true campaign against the election campaign. Doesn't this "apolitical pressure" wish to completely change the political data of the moment? Attempts are being made to snatch the elector's vote out of his hand. The whole humanist meaning of the proclamation of Timisoara was reduced to its point eight and point eight was reduced to "Down with Iliescu". Even if their number reached one million the demonstrators in the University Square do not have the right to claim the people for themselves alone, the way nobody has the right to confiscate the revolution. We are faced with an alarming situation, but we have time to drive the threat away... It is high time the three presidential candidates appeared before the people together, in a fair confrontation.

ROMANIA LIBERA, an independent newspaper of opinions, information items and feature reports: The compulsory step now is an attitude taken inside or outside the (National Salvation) Front, so that it will be therein that only activists, Securitate people and opportunists, therefore those who, for mean personal or group interests, are against the adoption and even discussion of point eight in the proclamation of Timisoara, should remain. The matter of the government's responsibility only before the voting law is not closed from a constitutional point of view. In this situation, dialogue cannot be regarded as a favor. Nor as an act of generosity. It is a necessity. Or, at least, a political opportunity.

TINERETUL LIBER, an independent newspaper for the youth as a whole: Let us not miss our opportunity for rebirth owing to impatience and illusionism... The street does not lack illusionists whose number continues to grow. They shout out against the majority... Those are firmly against the dead body of communist dictatorship are not few but they ignore the demon inside themselves... The inner enemy is as dangerous as the one that was outside until December 1989 because it incites us to violence and dictate, to exclusivism and extremism.

ZIG-ZAG, a magazine of topical feature reports: The longest meeting in the world, "the vagabondiad", gradually turned into a major political event. Talks go on and on in the street. Both sides tell true things. Tragedy is on familiar ground. They are all right.

DIMINEATA, a newspaper of democratic opinion and information items: There are two superposed movements: a spontaneous civil strike of sorts, on the one hand, and an attempt (or several attempts) at using it and maneuvering it in its own half on the other hand.

AZI, a newspaper of the National Salvation Front: The men behind this scandal are probably many and their interests are varied. However, they all aim at snatching power by force.

LIBERALUL, the press organ of the National Liberal Party: The main cause behind these true social seisms is the deliberate confusion consistently promoted ever since December, which has resulted in mistrust and suspicion on the plane of human psychology.

VIITORUL, a newspaper of the National Liberal Party: The revolution was stolen. For this reason the revolution goes on.

DREPTATEA, a rostrum of fight against communism, the press organ of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party: Neocommunism is as unfamiliar with normal, peaceful ways to solve political crises as the most obtuse type of communism was. A lucid analysis of the present and of the chances in the near future can only lead Mr. Ion Iliescu to the conclusion that the only normal solution to the crisis is his withdrawal and the postponement of the elections. Will neocommunism have the strength to reach the normal?

"22", a weekly edited by the Group for Social Dialogue: We are witnesses to a game whose stake is Romania... The confrontation between the revolution and the nomenklatura, started on December 22, continues... The

only people interested in the ideals that inspired the revolution are those who occupied the streets... It is in them that we can find all our hopes again. Their task is not Romania because Romania is theirs anyway.

President Iliescu Continues Election Tour

Visit to Giurgiu Viewed

AU0305165390 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 24 Apr 90 p 4

[Popescu C-tin article: "Comrade Iliescu's Visit to the Town of Giurgiu"]

[Text] The old town on the banks of the Danube River is "living" through the fervor of receiving the most-beloved son of the NSF [National Salvation Front] and, therefore, the preparations are in accordance with the importance of the guest.

A few days before the visit, the asphalt roads were patched up, the trees were whitewashed, and, on the day of the visit, housewives were prohibited from drying their laundry on the balcony; dogs were locked up. However, the most interesting thing is that on the morning of the visit, more policemen could be seen in the streets than there have ever been in our town.

Policemen, armed with everything required to eliminate any "foreign" opposition, appeared on all the roofs of the blocks of flats that surround the Ion Vasilescu Theater, where the rally was going to be held.

The most-beloved NSF member was accompanied by a few ONT [National Tourist Office] buses, which brought enthusiastic NSF supporters from Bucharest.

The comrade was accompanied by Dan Iosif and other figures from the rose's [the symbol of the NSF] elite. Well-known Securitate members came to the Mayoralty (the mayor of our town is an NSF member) two hours before the arrival of the guests. One day before the visit, Ion Popescu, a man of goodwill and the Provisional National Unity Front president, told the president of the Youth Organization of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP] that in no way should there be a demonstration because the NSF also promises "fair play" in case NPCDP presidential candidate Mr. Ion Ratiu arrives in Giurgiu.

Early in the morning, the NSF put their posters every five meters along Bucharest Boulevard, tearing off all the other posters of the NPCDP, the National Liberal Party, and other center groups. Was not a law issued in connection with tearing off posters? When windows are being smashed at the headquarters of other parties and Romania's colors are ripped down, there is not one single policeman around, however now, the headquarters (the gates) of political parties are guarded by five to six policemen.

The leadership of a few enterprises in Giurgiu took the responsibility for releasing workers as early as 10 o'clock. After Mr. Iliescu's speech, in which he noted that the front is a continuation of the revolution, that all those elected have been elected through a consensus of the whole nation, that every criticism of the front is welcome, and other such slogans that we have heard before, then followed the usual kisses.

Afterward, came a visit to the former headquarters of the Romanian Communist Party, where the lights of chandeliers that once lit up the gloomy face of the tyrant were turned on. The departure of the honored guests, to the great bewilderment of the Giurgiu residents, took place by driving 100 kmh right in the center of the town, with the police car in front and the ambulance at the rear of the line.

Why did the ambulance end the line of cars? Was it in order to prevent an accident, such as the one in Timisoara, during the famous visit of much-beloved provisional President Ion Iliescu? All the secrets are known only by the roses, but soon all Romanians will be aware of their thorns.

Addresses Electoral Rallies

AU0205193890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1838 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/5/1990—On 2 May, Mr. Ion Iliescu, candidate for Romania's presidency, had electoral meetings in Resita, Caransebes, Herculane and Drobeta-Turnu Severin (the south-western part of Romania).

In his addresses to the electors, Mr. Iliescu referred at length to the essence of the NSF's [National Salvation Front's] programme for the 20 May elections.

Answering critical remarks made in connection with this political movement, Mr. Iliescu said: Anybody of good faith who surveys these four months since the revolution can note the consistency with which the NSF has worked over this period in the interest of the nation, of the working people, for the promotion of new-type relations in the Romanian society, for the consistent promotion of democracy. The very fact that the citizens can openly express their opinion and slander us proves that a certain reality has been established in Romania that cannot be contested.

Referring to the attacks on himself, Mr. Iliescu showed that he was on the barricades of the fight against the dictatorship long before many of those who have taken to such attacks.

Referring to point 8 of the proclamation of Timisoara, Mr. Ion Iliescu stressed that the matter was closed, and could not be negotiated. The question was debated in the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] at the Article 11 of the voting law. The representatives of the National Liberal Party tried to introduce that provision but it was rejected. Moreover, the speaker said that it was suggested that those who had not lived in Romania

over the past years should not run in the 20 May elections. What would have happened then?

Mr. Ion Iliescu urged all political groups, all parties, all citizens to unfold an election campaign characterized by confrontations of ideas and programmes, in quiet, without verbal violence and street confrontations, without calumnies, letting the electorate to freely decide whom to choose, whom to entrust with the state power, with the building of future Romania.

On Campaign Trail in Oltenia

AU0305095490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0843 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 3/5/1990—On Thursday the National Salvation Front's candidate for Romania's presidency, Mr. Ion Iliescu, met with inhabitants of the town of Strehaia.

Electoral meetings are also scheduled for today in Dolj and Olt Counties.

In Olt County

AU0305210490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1953 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/5/1990—On Thursday, Mr. Ion Iliescu, presidential candidate of the National Salvation Front, met with the electorate in various localities in the counties of Mehedinti, Dolj and Olt.

In his addresses during the electoral meetings there he referred to the platform-programme of the National Salvation Front [NSF] showing that political movement, whose representative and candidate for the forthcoming elections he is, to be anything some people or others would like it to be, the product of the December revolution, the emanation of the people's aspirations for a better life, for the renewal of the Romanian society on all planes.

In the elections it sets forth a platform for the country's renewal in the interest of the people living from their work.

This programme, he said, provides for the growth of the national economy, the removal of all the obstacles to the Romanian people's energies, the elimination of the rigid, primitive system of running the economy and of its bureaucratic structures, the encouragement of initiative at all levels, the renewal of industry, the updating of agriculture. In the four months elapsed since the revolution the NSF has proved that orientation, the spirit of the Romanian revolution as a revolution of the people in the first place, he also said.

In connection with the way how the NSF conducts the election campaign, Ion Iliescu pointed out that "various methods of pressure are resorted to, including the pressure of the street, of the squares, and violent language in the press or on TV. We do not fear any confrontation, we enter the elections with the confidence that the great majority of the nation, interested in these renewals of our social life, will understand us and will support us and that we will build the necessary front of unity, of action of the healthy forces that should really raise our country up to the civilized countries", the NSF president stressed.

Visits Dolj County, Tours Auto Plant

AU0405094290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0623 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/5/1990—Continuing his electoral tour to settlements in the southwestern part of the country, Mr. Ion Iliescu met with members of the local state power bodies and executives of enterprises and institutions in Dolj County.

Discussed were also difficulties confronting the machine building industry in Dolj County the units of which operate at less than half of their capacity, as is the case of the "Oltcit" car manufacturing enterprise in Craiova.

It was stressed that the direct links of the enterprises in Dolj County, and of those in neighbouring counties with foreign firms called for direct contacts —the necessity being apparent of setting up a branch of the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade.

Mr. Iliescu also met with staff of the University of Craiova who suggested the reestablishment of several faculties.

UN Election Experts Arrive in Bucharest

AU0305205190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1840 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/5/1990—A delegation of United Nations experts in election organization technicalities and procedures is in Romania. Romulus Neagu, deputy minister of foreign affairs, says that the delegation had meetings with representatives of the Foreign Ministry and of the Central Electoral Office, to analyze technicalities of the May 20 poll.

Election Commission, Parties Meet

AU0405074890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1943 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/5/1990—A meeting of the Government Technicalities Commission for the Organization of the Elections, headed by Mihai Draganescu, deputy prime minister, and representatives of the political parties that will enter the May 20 free elections, took place on May 3.

They analyzed the way of organization of the elections, the timetable, the participation of foreign observers, of foreign press and TV stations.

The tasks of the various ministries for the organization and unfolding in adequate conditions of the elections were also presented.

Ratiu Gives Interview to French Journalists

AU0205180690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1745 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/5/1990—A communique received by ROMPRES from Mr. Ion Ratiu's press bureau regarding the call on Mr. Ion Ratiu on May 1 by representatives of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party and Jean-Claude Mignon and Jean-Michel Fezzand, members of the French National Assembly, together with journalists Michel Chamard ("LE FIGARO") and Pierre Prier ("LE SOIR") reads:

On the occasion Mr. Ion Ratiu was asked to make statements for the French press. Referring to the current political situation in Romania, Mr. Ion Ratiu showed that the present leadership set many obstacles to establishing democracy. Firstly, not all candidates have equal access to mass media to present their programme, the election campaign of some of them is boycotted by counter-demonstrations or even by the use of force. To this end Mr. Ion Ratiu made reference to the event in Buzau where a violent counter-demonstration was staged against him.

As concerns Romania's economic future, provided that he will be elected president, Mr. Ion Ratiu plans a radical and immediate change of the Romanian economy and its organization on the principles of a market economy so that, through wise measures, the passage be made quickly and ensure the entire people's welfare.

On His Personal Program

AU0305210390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1915 GMT 3 May 90

["Election Campaign—Presidential Hopeful Ion Ratiu's Program"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/5/1990—Ion Ratiu, the candidate of the Christian Democratic National Peasant Party for Romania's presidency, presented his election program principles during a call at ROMPRES, on May 3.

If I will be elected president of the country, Ion Ratiu said, I will steadily campaign for freedom, so that every one of us may live, work and travel whenever and wherever he wants, may read, listen and see whatever he wants in books and newspapers, on radio and TV, may belong to a freely constituted trade union or professional association, pray God the way he wishes, guided only by his conscience. I will campaign for freedom, so that the peasants and farmers may possess the land they till according to necessities, the workers in factories and enterprises may enjoy the fruit of their work, becoming shareholders, so that everyone may be the owner of the house or apartment where he lives, and every citizen may make the best of his capability through good education of all grades. I will campaign for dignity, so that the queuing for food may vanish forever, so that the old, ill and crippled may be properly looked after, the children may grow up with sound body and soul, and our private life may belong to ourselves instead of to the state and no one may have the right to watch us or interfere with our life." [no opening quotation marks as received]

Ion Ratiu also announced that other parties as well, including the Romanian Peasant Party, the Christian Democratic Union, the Liberal Party of Romania, the Christian Union of Romania, the Republican Union Party, the Romanian National Party, the Party of National Unity and Dignity, would sustain his candidacy in the May 20 elections.

Protests TV Coverage of Candidacy

AU0305143090 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 26 Apr 90 p 1

[Undated "protest" sent by the press bureau of Ion Ratiu, National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party presidential candidate, to ROMPRES and Free Romanian Television]

[Text] On 22 April, a big mass demonstration was held and organized by the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP], which was also attended by the group of center parties and by numerous demonstrators, who had come from Timisoara and Brasov. The same day, Mr. Ion Ratiu officially registered his candidacy for president of Romania at the Central Electoral Bureau.

During the "Current Events" program on television that same evening, video clips were shown from the mass demonstration; as far as Mr. Ratiu's official registration as election candidate is concerned, the television—through its announcer, Cornel Rosiianu—read only an announcement of this piece of news, without the commentary expected in such cases and without showing any video clips on the event. The aforementioned announcer explained this through the fact that, during the same program, video clips of the NPCDP demonstration had been carried and thus it had "exhausted" its right to other propaganda clips. Therefore, the video clips on Mr. Ratiu were to be broadcast the following day. We do not think that registering an official candidacy for Romania's presidency is an act of propaganda, but an event of great importance for the country.

In view of such an attitude and wishing to prevent similar future attitudes, we protest energetically, placing emphasis on the fact that Mr. Ratiu is an official candidate for our country's presidency nominated by five political parties. Therefore, the registration of Mr. Ratiu's candidacy is not an action of propaganda of a single party, of the party that "had exhausted its minutes," but a joint political act of certain political parties that had not sent other video clips or communiques to the television station. In this case, the steps taken by the Free Romanian Television were a violation because they were aimed at undermining Mr. Ion Ratiu's election campaign.

Says Democracy His 'Way of Life'

AU0305142490 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 26 Apr 90 p 1

[Doina Basca article: "Presidential Candidate, Ion Ratiu: 'For Me Democracy Is a Way of Life'"]

[Text] Sunday, 22 April 1990, marked the four-month anniversary of the Revolution. They were perhaps the most intensive months in the current history of Romania, when hopes and political trends alternated at a completely new rate unknown to the younger generations. The (provisional) government has demonstrated its limitations and has exhausted its resources. Street demonstrations have become a daily sight. The demonstration and meeting of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP] were of a corollary nature and summed up the main objections and dissatisfactions that marked Romania's current sociopolitical situation.

Against this background, Mr. Ion Ratiu officially registered his candidacy for the position of president of Romania. The proposal for this position was made by the NPCDP and was backed up at the Central Electoral Bureau in front of its president, Mr. Ovidiu Zarnescu, judge at the Supreme Justice Court, by Messrs. Adrian Sirbu, NPCDP deputy secretary general, and lawyer Razvan Dobrescu. The procedure continued with the presentation of the lists of supporters and the ceremonious acceptance of Mr. Ion Ratiu's candidacy.

Determined to struggle for freedom, democracy, and prosperity in Romania, and for the triumph of social justice in Romania, this great figure of Romanians everywhere returns from history not from exile. His name is linked to a long-standing tradition of politicians of our nation. The accidental hiatus in his biography, linked to his absence from our country, has led to his categorically rejecting any dictatorship, especially communism imposed by Soviet tanks.

As the organizer of most of the aid actions for those in Romania who had to suffer from Communist persecution—to mention only the release of the political detainees in June 1964 or the support for the Romanian dissidents—Mr. Ion Ratiu constantly fought with the windmills of the omnipotent Communist dictatorship, firmly convinced that Romania's time would come in the end. His hopes came true because of the youths' December Revolution. "For me democracy is not just a beautiful word to be uttered in a speech; for me democracy is a way of life," he said after he had registered his candidacy.

The direct or veiled obstruction of the presentation of his ideas and personality shows the pseudo-democratic intentions of the current leaders.

* National Peasant Party Called 'Neo-Stalinist'

90BA0065C Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 12 Apr 90 p 5

[D. Hanu article: "The Surprise of PNN Neo-Stalinism"]

[Text] I am reading DREPTATEA with mounting curiosity. Not because it reveals perfidious NSF [National Salvation Front]-Communist schemes but because it is sporting with increasing lack of embarrassment the inquisitorial uniform discarded by a certain ideology with a hated name. I am only asking myself what little devil with a primitive mentality, lacking in professionalism, and ignorant of our history can be prompting the "forum of struggle against Communism" to use a tone identical with that of the ...Communist press at the dawn of Romanian Stalinism? This would be very funny, if the memory of those times 40 years ago didn't make us shudder with horror. The accusations and the language are similar, only the terms of reference have changed, i.e., the "new" and the "former." Try to solve the following riddle: Where have the true activists, armed to the teeth with prejudices, intolerance, and fanaticism found a home? And what prospects are opened before us by such a mentality?

—A mere 100 days after the Revolution, the NSF was shedding its mask, revealing its true face.
—To achieve a separation of powers in the state, we need public investigations and debates, removals from positions and sanctions, not perfidious promotions and declarations of principles.
—He (Ion Iliescu) and the other comrades in the Front's leadership have seized power and are hanging on to it tooth and nail; through their acolytes they are disseminating rumors and slander, attacking headquarters, and preempting—through a "parliament" with an imposed NSF majority—the adoption of truly democratic laws or the elimination of ambiguities deliberately slipped into the laws for precise purposes.
—If it could afford it, the NSF would be happy to be the ONLY party leading our nation. Its thirst for power has been proven...
—Within this entire suite of falsehoods and whitewashing, concealements and mystification, the NSF has hastened to plug up the holes and to uphold the idea that, in keeping with the pact concluded with the country, the truth is and will remain law.
—Now, when the Communist darkness is gasping its last, etc...
—Those who held high-ranking positions under Communism and drank the blood of the Romanian people, are immediately reinstated.
—I am appealing directly to you, the criminals, although all you understand is the language of the bolsheviks. Come out of your lairs...
—We are being primed for another tragedy through ideological diversion, sabotage, staged national conflicts, truncation of certain states, dissemination of the idea of "transparent" frontiers, economic and political blackmail, cultural manipulation...The infamy that is

threatening us is more aggressive that in the past! The only solution in such conditions of unexpected and persistent aggression and subversion is to continue to struggle. The united struggle of all truly patriotic forces... The first great battle will be fought in the elections of May 1990. The elections must pave the way to power only for the popular and democratic forces and must eliminate from the political scene the monstruous coalition between the old nomenklatura, the faithful of the Third International, and the invisible and unpunished sectors of the old bodies of reprisal.

—The enemy is not ceding its positions willingly. Remnants of the exploiting classes remain present in villages, in the industry, in the state apparatus, and in institutions of all kinds.

—A large number of hostile elements have been promoted to responsible positions in financial areas, commerce, cooperatives, agricultural machinery stations, and state agricultural enterprises.

—As the CPSU experience taught us, a correct cadres selection is done according to the criteria of political affiliation, and only secondarily by practical criteria, in other words, according to whether they are suited for a certain job.

—As was demonstrated at the trial of the gang of saboteurs and diversionists of the Danube-Black Sea Canal, the enemy is employing the most treacherous and slyest methods, such as erroneous planning, imbalances among various sectors, delayed supplies, and erroneous implementation of the pay scale.

—Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej stated: "Opportunistic lenience, a pacifying attitude toward the class enemy, tolerance toward mistakes and shortcomings, and lack of moral determination are enabling the enemy to infiltrate our ranks."

—Public opinion in plants, institutions, offices, and everywhere must condemn, despise, and look with indignation upon those who show political stupidity or passivity. Let us continually maintain our revolutionary vigilence, so that we can uncover the enemy under every mask, be on guard, and remember Comrade Stalin's injunction: "If we remain vigilent, comrades, we can certainly continue to crush our enemies!"

—The CPSU experience warns us against the type of saboteur-diversionist who does not dare to overtly exhibit his platform and political bend and tries to deceive our vigilence and win our trust through duplicity and false assurances of devotion to our cause, with a view to taking advantage of this trust to deal us an unexpected blow.

What a surprise: Not only is the tone identical, but so are the major ideas; unmasking former personalities who are being promoted toward the country's disaster; appealing for vigilence to spot and uproot the remnants of the former ideology; injunctions to relentless struggle because the ex's are planning the demise of the people's revolution, and other unimaginable crimes, etc.

Once again: Who stands to profit by stirring up trouble by inventing national threats and disguised guilty heads, by uncontrolled incitement to suspicion, and by moral neo-terrorism? Is the National Peasant Party preparing to rehabilitate Stalinism?

For confirmation, see DREPTATEA Nos. 42, 46, 48, 49, and 52 and the leaflet "For Continuously Strengthening the Vigilence of Our Ranks," Bucharest, The Political Literature Publishing House, 1953.

National Peasant Party Program Criticized

AU0305091990 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 21 Apr 90 p 5

[Grigore Traian Pop article: "On the Program of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party. From the Soviet Model to the Danish One or the Plight of Forms Without Content"]

[Excerpts] A party with "national peasants" in its name should naturally focus on the problems of the peasants. [passage omitted] Only, despite this, the declarations and stances taken by the leaders of that party leave the impression that they claim monopoly over the peasants' problems. [passage omitted]

And in the name of this false "fatherhood," they claim merits in any government measure designed to contribute to redressing agriculture. But this is of no particular importance. Suggestions for revitalizing agriculture are welcome from anywhere. However, when we say from anywhere, we are thinking of the fact that the last ones to be consulted on these problems are the peasants themselves. Have they resigned themselves so much that they believe it is better for them to let the "landlords" in the political parties think for them? We doubt it. Then how is it possible that there is no peasant in the NPCDP [National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party] "divan" and the press that represents their views does not focus on them? [passage omitted]

But let us discuss something tangible, that is the basic principles of the NPCDP program. [passage omitted]

It is not enough to affirm that it will struggle to achieve justice for the peasants, without taking into consideration what the peasants think they are entitled to. It sounds nice: "The lands that belong to agricultural production cooperatives will be returned to the peasants as their personal property for eternal use and the peasants will be assisted in procuring the necessary equipment for: carrying out agricultural operations, fertilizing lands, irrigation, pest control, seed selection, and so forth, so that peasants' farms will turn into genuine European-type farms (like Danish, Dutch, or Swiss farms and so forth)." [passage omitted]

I will not resort to Caragiale [Romanian playwright] to ridicule those who try to hijack the peasants' "issue" for their own political benefit. [passage omitted]

Now the NPCDP proposes a "Danish, Dutch, Swiss, and so forth" model. This "and so forth" is super. That is anything that will not take into consideration Romanian facts. [passage omitted]

Pro-NPCDP sons of Peasants! Ask your parents what they want. If they ask you to help them, forget about abstract politics and roll up your sleeves nicely, and off to work. This is the only viable model.

* Criteria for NPCDP Membership Noted

90BA0065B Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 18 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed article: "Statutory Explanations Concerning Membership in our Party"]

[Text] We have been asked to provide some clarifications concerning the status of members of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP], and they are:

Any citizens belonging to the Romanian community, regardless of nationality, sex, religion, or profession, over the age of 18, regardless of whether they reside in the country or abroad, and who share the party's ideology and program, observe its statutes and discipline, and struggle for its ideals and for establishing democracy and social justice in Romania, may be members of the NPCDP.

Persons barred from NPCDP membership are active members of another political party or political group. Members of the Romanian Communist Party or other political parties who wish to join our party must explicitly renounce their previous political affiliation. In the case of former members of the Communist Party, the reason they must renounce their previous membership is that the party was never officially dissolved.

Also barred from joining the NPCDP are persons who held decisionmaking and leadership functions or titles in the Romanian Communist Party and who belonged to its nomenklatura as: members and candidate members of the executive and central committees; county party first secretaries and secretaries; members of the auditing committee; party instructors, and section chiefs at the central committee.

Former ministers and deputy ministers of the Communist dictatorship and members of the National Assembly of the Communist regime may not be accepted in our party before the year 1995.

Employees of the State Security Department who served as active or reserve officers or noncommissioned officers, and members of the network of informers organized by the respective department in the country and abroad may not become members of our party before the year 1995.

The categories of citizens that may not join the party are not intended to be deprived of their human, civic, and professional rights. The restrictive measures taken toward them are political in nature.

The degree of guilt of the persons belonging to the above categories is to be established individually for each case by judicial bodies legally notified by citizens who had been subjected by the respective persons to persecution and abusive measures.

Also barred from membership in the NPCDP are citizens who received sentences for serious common law crimes and violations that caused considerable damage to institutions or individuals.

Employees, noncommissioned officers, and officers of the police (the former militia), who were not found guilty of abuses and crimes against citizens, will not be subjected to any reproaches or objections, nor to accusations concerning the honest fulfillment of their duties on the job.

Employees of the Department of State Security who belonged to technical, intelligence, or counterintelligence sections and dealt with matters of state security and who by definition should be apolitical, may not belong to any political party. Career soldiers and police employees belong to the same category.

Managers Urged To Vote for NPCDP

AU0305124890 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 26 Apr 90 p 1

[Unattributed article: "The Election Emblem of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party Is an Eye"]

[Text]**Clerks! Managers! Workers in the area of public relations!**

Organizers of the socioeconomic activity!

The National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party proposes to reintegrate Romania into Europe and the western-type civilization!

This type of material and spiritual culture—the only type that has proved to benefit each man in society and society as a whole—places great stress on the people who are working as managers, clerks, in economic and social assistance, and in public relations!

The NPCDP aims at achieving a Romanian society in which the "white collar" workers—as these social categories are called in North America—play a decisive role in ensuring the well-being and comfort of the whole nation.

Promoting the **NPCDP** programs, Romania will badly need managers, clerks, social workers, and workers in the area of public relations!

A modern society cannot be conceived of without these professional and social categories!

Vote for the eye! Vote for NPCDP, the party of the modern Romanian society!

Socialist Democratic Party Issues Initiatives

AU0305161090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1429 GMT 3 May 90

["Election Campaign: RSDP Legislative Initiatives"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/5/1990—"The Romanian Socialist Democratic Party [RSDP] comes before the electorate with three initiatives of national interest".

It is first of all, as shown in a release of that party, about "a bill on instituting the national fund of social security", whose "imperious necessity is dictated by the process of fast privatization, that will unquestionably affect large masses of employees of all socio-professional categories".

The second initiative is the drafting of a bill on national health, that "makes a global approach to the whole of the disastrous medical and social heritage, which presently endangers the Romanian people's very biological and genetic stock".

The third initiative is the bill on the national program of scholarships and specialization financed directly from the state budget and controlled by a specialized commission of the future parliament.

Proposals Set Forth by Liberal Socialist Party

AU0205144090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1404 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/5/1990—In an appeal to Mr. Ion Iliescu, PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] president, the Liberal Socialist Party sets forth a number of proposals to overcome "the deep crisis caused by mistrust that may lead to destabilization with serious effects on the political, social and economic planes." The appeal, which is signed by Nicolae Cerveniu, shows that "the only way to put an end to that state of affairs is by force, which will only push the country into a civil war" or "through well-thought political measures that could propel Romania on the road towards real democracy."

Noteworthy among the immediate steps suggested are: the institution of a government of technicians, independent from any political group and from the PNUC, the postponement of elections and their organization on the basis of the election law, which was endorsed and should be amended according to point eight in the Proclamation of Timisoara, with all presidential candidates being individuals outside any political party (men of letters, art and science).

Mr. Nicolae Cerveniu, who is also a member of the PNUC, which debated and voted the voting law for the elections due on May 20, calls attention to the fact that unless those proposals are taken account of "the moral crisis will go on, demonstrations will follow one another, which means further social and political destabilization with unpredictable consequences."

Germans Democratic Forum To Run in Elections

AU0305064690 Bucharest NEUER WEG in German 20 Apr 90 p 1

[Manfred Wittstock article: "The Democratic Forum of the Germans in Romania Goes to the Poll. Election Recommendations for Local Bodies. List of Candidates of the Sibiu Forum Drawn Up"]

[Excerpts] Sibiu. The Democratic Forum of the Germans in Romania [DFDR] has worked out recommendations for the participation of the German people in Romania in the 20 May elections, which are being sent to all local associations in the counties throughout the country. The DFDR recommends that all citizens of German origin in Romania who are entitled to vote should participate in the election. What is at stake for the time being is overcoming the weariness that affected many in the past because of an uncongenial and often burdensome political activity. The recommendations are also addressed to all those who will soon emigrate because they should not be indifferent to the fact that our shrinking community can be directly involved in public activity. [passage omitted]

For this purpose, the DFDR suggests that lists of several popular candidates should be drawn up in counties with German people (such as Timisoara, Caras-Severin, Arad, Sibiu, Mures, and Brasov). [passage omitted]

Although the DFDR sees no particularly great chances for the election to the Senate, it suggests that each county with Germans should appoint one candidate for this second parliament chamber.

Initially the forum did not want to run in the election and now that it is going to participate, many will ask what its political leaning or ideology is. There is only one answer to this question. In accordance with paragraph 96 of the Election Law the organizations of ethnic minorities represented in the Provisional National Unity Council may run in the elections like any party or political organization. During a recent meeting of members, Dr. Thomas Naegler assured us in his function as DFDR president that the DFDR in Romania will continue to be an ethnic association in accordance with the statutes and will naturally continue to strictly reject any ideological orientation. [passage omitted]

Supreme Court Turns Down Nomination Challenges

AU0305104290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1001 GMT 3 May 90

["Election Campaign: Nomination Challenges Turned Down"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/5/1990—In keeping with the provisions of the Election Law, over 24 April - 2 May, the Supreme Court registered and solved 39 files containing 47 challenges against the candidates for Romania's presidency.

Of the total number, 15 were against the candidature of Mr. Ion Iliescu, 14 against that of Mr. Radu Campeanu, and 18 against that of Mr. Ion Ratiu.

All files were discussed in public sessions with the participation of the prosecutor in the 3-day lawful term.

The challenges were turned down, the decisions being final and effective. Those concerned were informed in a 24-hour term.

Iliescu Opposed Ceausescu's Summary Execution

AU0405073590 Paris AFP in English 0136 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, May 4 (AFP)—Acting President Ion Iliescu was opposed to the summary execution of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu, and argued for a full public trial to judge the former communist leader and his wife, the man who organized the couple's trial and execution in December said on Thursday.

Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican told a press conference that Mr. Iliescu, whose removal is now being demanded by anti-communist demonstrators, thought the idea of a summary execution of the couple was "abominable."

Mr. Voican himself had argued for their summary execution in order to end the armed terror of Ceausescu partisans and Securitate secret police in the wake of popular demonstrations which forced Ceausescu's ouster last December.

"My idea was called abominable by Mr. Iliescu," he said. "He believed that one should not refuse the Romanian people the right to judge its own executioners in a vast and lengthy Nuremberg-style trial, at which the entire period of the dictatorship would have come under discussion."

Mr. Iliescu agreed finally to the formation of an emergency military tribunal because of the urgency of the situation, Mr. Voican said.

Mr. Voican was charged along with General Viktor Stanculescu, now defense minister, with organizing the trial before the military court, which found the couple guilty of "genocide" and ordered their death by firing squad.

The two were tried and executed last December 25.

Mr. Voican said the Ceausescus were buried in a Bucharest cemetery after an Orthodox religious service. Their burial ground was not being revealed because "hatred still runs high," he said, adding he feared Romanians would dig up their graves and tear their remains "to pieces."

Meanwhile, Romanian dissident Doina Cornea accused Mr. Iliescu and the interim leadership of "exercising power with the old Ceausescu methods."

In an interview with the Spanish newspaper El Mundo, Ms. Cornea charged that Mr. Iliescu and Petre Roman, now prime minister, "attended receptions," while the late communist leader razed Transylvanian villages to make way for modern agro-industrial complexes.

She said Romania's current interim leaders were "convinced communists" and added that there were many indications they had prepared a coup d'etat with the military against the former regime.

The first demonstrations in Transylvania against Ceausescu were spontaneous, she said, but "the same cannot be said for events in Bucharest."

Demonstrators in a twelfth day of protest continued Thursday to call for the resignation of Mr. Iliescu, who is running for president in elections scheduled for May 20.

Complaint Made About Censorship of Mail

AU0305085490

[Editorial Report] Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian on 21 April carries on page 3 a 200-word untitled report of a complaint (recipient not specified) by "Anca A. of Bucharest," who is "absolutely flabbergasted" because her letters to a "former colleague and friend living in the United States" have been censored, as is apparent from what her friend writes. One of her letters to this friend took "37 days!" to arrive, she says; that is, longer than during Ceausescu's time "when letters took only 2-3 weeks" to the States. She claims that, in another letter, clippings from ROMANIA LIBERA were replaced with clippings from ADEVARUL and that the magazine "22" she sent never reached its destination. The report concludes: "Thus, we have the same misery we thought we had gotten rid of on 22 December 1989."

Roman Meets TAROM TU Representatives

AU0205193690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1822 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/5/1990—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman met on May 2 with representatives of the TAROM [Romanian Airlines] independent technical trade union organization. It was convened that the claims of that trade union organization which has recently arranged a strike of the technical personnel in the Romanian air transport be studied by the government's legal commission which should present a draft decree law to the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] next session.

Education Minister on Organization of Schooling

AU0305195090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1745 GMT 3 May 90

["Instruction—A Beginning of the Road"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/5/1990—Minister of Instruction Mihai Sora reports through the TRIBUNA INVATAMINTULUI weekly that a draft decision on the organization and functioning of instruction in Romania in 1990-1991, actually an incipient bill of instruction, was worked out and is to be advanced for approval to the government.

First, he says, it is about reassessing the schooling figures, by profiles of instruction, with priority given to the theoretical lycees. Whereas in the last period of the dictatorship of sad remembrance, 94 per cent of the secondary-school graduates were encompassed in industrial, agro-industrial, forestry and economic high schools—which was clearly absurd—the ninth grade of the theoretical high schools in 1990-1991 will enroll over 45 per cent of the total number planned for admission to high school. Likewise, other non-industrial profiles were diversified, to include training in the important domain of administration and services, without however neglecting data processing, normal schools, medical and arts schools, physical education and sports ones. Military high schools and theological seminaries too, are included in the instruction system. All of them add another over 20 per cent. And so, the share of pupils going to non-industrial high schools will reach two thirds of the total.

Planned is also the reestablishment, for an extremely varied range of professions, of the 2- and 3-year post lycee schools with a relatively flexible grade of instruction, readily adjustable to the society's needs of development.

As for the higher learning, the minister shows, admission to faculties is expected to be rendered more flexible and the number of students increased. The same flexibility will be applied to all persons willing to take their doctor's degree, as the limiting figure is to be abolished.

Religious Denominations' Assembly Set Up in Arad

AU0405074090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1848 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/5/1990—The religious denominations of the city and county of Arad set up an assembly whose major target are the establishment of a climate of peace and understanding among religious denominations and of fraternal relations of mutual esteem among the faithful and contributions to the people's spiritual unity. The new body gathers at a roundtable conference all the religious denominations recognized by the law, which maintain their freedom of action.

Diplomatic Relations With Vatican To Resume

AU0405073190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1850 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/5/1990—During his recent talks in Bucharest the foreign minister of the Holy See, Angelo Sodano, told Romanian authorities of Pope John Paul II's wish to pay a visit to Romania in 1992 or 1993, Mr. Romulus Neagu, deputy minister of foreign affairs and spokesman for the Foreign Ministry of Romania, said during a news conference with Romanian and foreign journalists on Thursday.

He also said the Romanian minister of foreign affairs had informed the foreign minister of the Holy See of the Romanian Government's agreement on the resumption of the activities of the apostolic nunciature in Bucharest, which is virtually equivalent to the resumption of diplomatic relations between Romania and the Vatican, which were broken in 1950. The two ministers agreed that diplomatic links should be resumed through an exchange of verbal messages.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Ties With U.S.

AU0405101190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0733 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/5/1990—The Romanian-U.S. relations have seen significant moments in the last few days, illustrative of the common wish for a better knowledge of the democratic changes taking place in Romania, as well as of the effort of identifying palpable modalities of cooperation in various domains, of grounding bilateral ties on new bases, stated Romulus Neagu, deputy foreign affairs minister and spokesman of the ministry, during a news conference held on Thursday, 3 May.

In that context he referred to the visit of Professor John Taylor, member of the Council of Economic Advisers of the U.S. President, who, learning about the programme for Romania's transition to a market economy, appreciated in the positive the Romanian people's option and the steps taken on the path of democracy, of Romania's joining the world economic flow. He was impressed by the existence of a rather large number of private ventures in operation (5,600) and another 15,000 applications that await resolution. Professor John Taylor also noted that the measures taken by the Romanian Government to decentralize the economy, attract foreign investment and bring in this country management teams from abroad were palpable, important steps towards Romania's transition to a market economy.

The second visit recalled by the Foreign Ministry's spokesman was that of the U.S. Assistant Secretary for human rights and humanitarian affairs, Richard Schifter, who, during the talks held and interviews had in Bucharest, was appreciative of the positive developments since his previous visit to Romania at the end of January in the direction of the democratization of the Romanian society, and of the actions of the Romanian

Government to prepare and organize free and fair elections on 20 May. Likewise, Mr. Neagu specified, the guest was appreciative of the legislative measures taken so far to guarantee and actually secure fundamental human rights and freedoms, as it was agreed that that was a domain which opens broad prospects to a bilateral cooperation on multiple planes between the two countries and peoples.

French Deputies Said Not To Represent Assembly

AU0405073690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1946 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/5/1990—French Deputies Jean-Claude Mignon and Jean-Michel Ferrand of the Rally for the Republic Party, who addressed the demonstrators in the Univeristy Square in Bucharest on Tuesday and called for the resignation of the Romanian Government, "were not in Romania on a mission on behalf of the National Assembly (France's Chamber of Deputies). AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE reports from Paris quoting information supplied on Wednesday [2 May] by the office of the president of France's National Assembly, Laurent Fabius. This answer, the quoted news agency shows, was given to Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman, who talked to Laurent Fabius on the matter over the phone.

The president of the French Parliament told the Romanian prime minister that the French National Assembly Bureau had decided to send a delegation to Romania for the May 20 general elections. The Romanian prime minister told him "that mission is accepted with pleasure," it was shown in Paris.

* Visas Now Needed To Enter Finland

90P20022A Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 21 Apr 90 p 7

[Text] Beginning Saturday, visas will be required of Romanians entering Finland. On Friday, the president of the Republic decided to terminate application of the free-travel agreement between Finland and Romania. The decision will be implemented on a temporary basis.

The aim in demanding a visa is to restrict the increased flow of Romanians moving to Finland. Denmark and Austria previously terminated their free-travel agreements with Romania. Norway is also considering termination of its free-travel agreement.

The same action was taken recently with Bulgaria.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs justifies removal of visa-free travel by pointing out that, with the opening of Romania's borders, increasing numbers of Romanians are moving elsewhere. The preferred countries have been particularly Western countries Romanians have been able to enter without visas.

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Romanians have moved illegally into the country under the protection of the free-travel agreement.

Economic Cooperation Agreements With Spain

AU0205094990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0810 GMT 2 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 2/5/1990—On the recent visit in Madrid of the Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman three master agreements were signed, considered by both parties as a very promising beginning. It is first about the ten-year economic and industrial cooperation agreement on the use of economic resources for development in the two countries in a process of ample, stable and mutually advantageous cooperation. The promotion of economic and industrial cooperation, the document stresses, pursues the diversification of the bilateral relations by mutual granting of the most favourable treatment, facilitation of cooperation between relevant natural and juristic persons. The second document is a letter of intention between the Ministry of Industry and Energy of Spain and the State Commission on Coordination of Foreign Aid and investments in Romania, referring to aid granted in training industrial executives in Romania. The third document, "the Romanian-Spanish Act of Understanding on Industrial, Technological and Power Engineering Assistance" stipulates cooperation especially in information and technical assistance, visits by delegations, training of experts.

The framework of verbal understandings is by far larger. A team of Spanish experts in tourism are expected to arrive in Romania soon to investigate immediate opportunities of development in this compartment. The cultural cooperation pursues among other things the creation of a "centre of high Hispanic studies" and of Spanish lectureships at the Bucharest University and in other higher learning centres in Romania. Likewise, the Spanish Government granted Romania an initial credit of 100 million dollars.

Japanese Foreign Minister Arrives for Talks

LD0305171790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1606 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 May, (TANJUG)—Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama arrived today [3 May] in Belgrade on a three-day official visit. The Japanese foreign minister was greeted at Belgrade Airport by his host, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar.

Today and tomorrow, Loncar and Nakayama will have talks about bilateral cooperation and international issues of joint interest. Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Ante Markovic, Federal Executive Council president, will receive the Japanese foreign minister in separate visits tomorrow in Belgrade. On the third day of the visit, Taro Nakayama will go to Dubrovnik, where he will have talks with representatives of the Croat Republic and the town of Dubrovnik about opportunities for increasing the number of Japanese tourists visiting Yugoslavia.

The Japanese Foreign Minister has come from Prague, where he was on an official visit to Czechoslovakia.

Markovic Says Government To Enter Elections

LD0405021390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0045 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Zagreb, May 3 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government will at the end of its term of office appear at multiparty elections with a programme in which it advocates the market, citizens' rights, the autonomy of enterprises, the autonomy of republics and their right to secession, but also the autonomy of the essential functions of the state, Yugoslavian Prime Minister Markovic said in an interview on Zagreb television.

Markovic said it would not be overly important in the programme under which the government will appear at the multiparty elections whether Yugoslavia would be called a federation or a confederation—what would be important would be its contents, i.e., economic efficiency and political [word indistinct]

Markovic said the state presidency had offered him the mandate for forming a new government but added that he would not use it, as the current government had decided to enter the election race.

The Yugoslav Government has decided to go for all options, from founding its own political party to a coalition and the establishment of a political consensus, Markovic said.

The government's mandate has been extended until the end of the year, until when amendments to the federal constitution and a federal law on the association of citizens are expected to be adopted, paving the way for multiparty elections.

Yugoslavia's fate cannot be brought into question if it develops an efficient economy, Markovic said, adding that even if right-wing forces came into power in some parts of the country that still would not automatically mean its disintegration.

He said the draft was being prepared of a law protecting citizens from the revanchism of parties which gained power.

The Federal Government's economic programme has succeeded in bringing down the rate of inflation in four months from 64 per cent to minus 0.2 per cent, the figure for this month, Markovic said, (passage indistinct] 75 per cent.

He said the country's foreign currency reserves had grown to 8.3 billion dollars.

The Yugoslav dinar, which has been convertible since January this [words indistinct] many Western exchange offices, and the dinar is soon also expected, under article eight of the International Monetary Fund's statute, to win "external" recognition for day-to-day transactions, Markovic said.

31st LCY Party Plenum Postponed Until 8 May

AU0305180490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Committee has announced that the 31st session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which was due to be held tomorrow, has been postponed until Tuesday, 8 May. The announcement says that the session was postponed at the demand of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Presidium of the Central Committee of Macedonia had (?proposed) that the session be postponed.

Plenum Delay Explained

LD0305192890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1736 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, May 3 (TANJUG)—The 31st plenary session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), which has already been put off several times and at which the fate of the adjourned 14th special LCY congress is to be decided, will be held on May 8 in Belgrade, it was announced today by the LCY leadership.

The plenary session was set for May 4, but at the request of the republican party organisations of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia, it was put off once again.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina LC [League of Communists] CC [Central Committee] today decided to invest efforts towards convening a new congress which would rally all left-oriented forces which care about Yugoslavia, and not only some LCY parts. The Bosnia-Herzegovina LC

CC also upholds a proposal of the Communist organisation in the Yugoslav Armed Forces which urges the completion of the 14th special LCY congress adjourned at the end of last January.

The Macedonia LC CC today accepted the initiatives of the Bosnia- Herzegovina LC CC and the Communist Organisation in the Yugoslav Armed Forces, but refused to attend a plenary session at which representatives of all LCY organisations would not be present.

The Croatia and Slovenia LC CC's do not participate in these consultations. Since the end of last January when the special LCY congress was adjourned the two organisations have been acting as independent parties.

The 14th special LCY congress was adjourned when delegates of the Slovenia LC walked out on the congress because some of their proposals had not been accepted. The principal stumbling block was their demand that the single League of Communists be transformed into a loose alliance of alliances. The proposal was then rejected by a large majority of congress participants.

All attempts to date to resume the congress have failed. The Slovenia and Croatia LC's have refused every discussion on the subject and have no intention of rejoining the LCY with whose structure and manner of work they disagree. The latest accord fell through last March when the delegations of the LC CC's of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia walked out on the LCY CC plenary session.

At the request of the LCY CC most of the adjourned congress delegates declared in favour of its resumption. The plenary session set for May 8 should finally settle whether the adjourned congress will be continued or a new congress prepared. This could also affect the fate of the LCY itself.

Drnovsek on Elections, Council of Europe

AU0305200790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Apr, 1, 2, May 90 p 15

[D.D. report: "We Expect Support"]

[Text] Ljubljana—A short interview with Dr. Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, was carried on the first channel of Ljubljana television the night before last. The interview dealt with the elections in Slovenia and Croatia and Drnovsek's expectations of his speech to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg.

Regarding the first question, Drnovsek reiterated his earlier stands that the multiparty elections in Slovenia and Croatia are very important and that he hoped that similar elections would soon be held in other republics too, and at the federal level within the next six months.

Dr. Drnovsek stressed that these elections, as well as the activities that are not so obvious to the public, will be of great help to him when he speaks to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. "I expect to be well received there and I also expect support for our joining the Council of Europe," Drnovsek said.

It is very important, the president of the SFRY Presidency stressed, that the state of emergency has been lifted in Kosovo. Vlasi's release means this trial is no longer a burden since it has received very negative publicity in the world, and the Presidency has released most political prisoners. All this has considerably improved Yugoslavia's image, Drnovsek thought.

"Diplomatic activity so far has shown that we will have support for our membership of the Council of Europe, since it has already been assured among many people," Dr. Drnovsek said.

Media Commentary Assesses Slovene Elections

AU0305132690

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 25 April on page 6 carries commentaries on the outcome of the recent elections in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, reprinted from several Yugoslav newspapers.

Concentrating on the presidential elections and Milan Kucan's victory, the 500-word commentary by Aleksandar Plavevski entitled "Goodbye to Federation," reprinted from Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES, assesses Kucan's aspirations to become president of Slovenia. "Fighting for the votes in accordance with the demands that the Slovene president should not be party-oriented, Kucan stated that he will 'freeze' his membership in the Communist Party for four years, and that he will put away his red party membership card. This and similar statements made by the candidate of the League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Reform were seen by some people as the readiness to accept anything just to get hold of the attractive presidential chair." Regarding Kucan's and Slovenia's stand on relations with the rest of the country, the commentary states: "For Kucan, the federal Yugoslavia is definitely impossible, because its principles were discredited by the changes to the 1974 Constitution. All in all, the plan to dismantle Yugoslavia, on which Slovenia has been working very hard, was confirmed again. It was effected with the adoption of amendments to the Slovene constitution. In the team of the 'model workers' working on the dismantling of Yugoslavia, Kucan played an important role. Some analysts think that it was in fact Kucan's frequent 'no's' to Belgrade and insistence on the Slovene national question—together with the skillfully conducted politics and tactics of nonviolent constitutional change in Slovenia's position—that brought him the crucial points in the election battle."

In his 800-word commentary "From Words to Elections," a Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE commentator, Vlastimir Mijovic, takes a different stand: "There is no doubt anymore: The one-party system, with which we have been living for almost one half of a century, is

inevitably giving way to parliamentary democracy. For Yugoslavia, this is indeed a historic moment. We are beginning to experience democracy in a way that is perhaps not the best way, but is still the way adopted by a large part of the developed world. Therefore, we can at least say that we have finally understood that it is better to accept proven methods, however many shortcomings they may have, than conduct bad and uncertain experiments."

Endorsing the first democratic elections in Slovenia, the commentator says: "It would be good if free, multiparty elections were simultaneously held in all Yugoslav republics and that—in addition to Kucan and Racan—Milosevic, Durakovic, Bulatovic, Morina, Gosev, Sipovac, and other political leaders were also subjected to the test of free elections."

The 300-word commentary entitled "Democracy is Beginning" by Bozo Kovac of Ljubljana DELO, states that "we can already say that the period of liberalizing Slovenia's public life is over. This is the end of an approximately four-year period of liberalization which, although bordering on anarchy, nevertheless, as an organized chaos, produced authentic and, above all, quick results." The commentator then goes to say that "until very recently the multiparty system was a symbol of freedom and an aim, but from now on it will be only an instrument." Kovac concludes his commentary by saying: "Everything ended well. The stars and Gods were obviously inclined to us, because they did not shoot at parties' leaders."

A 300-word commentary "Accurate Forecast" by J. Pjevic, reprinted from Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI, points out that "the second round of presidential elections confirmed the predictions based on the results of the first round of the election held on 8 April."

The commentator believes that this result was "more or less expected" and that it only confirmed the "real wish of the majority of Slovenes and other citizens of Slovenia that the planned construction of an independent and sovereign Slovene state be carried out in as peaceful and painless a way as possible, without unnecessary and risky conflicts."

Appraising Kucan as a politician, the commentary concludes: "Like Pucnik, Kucan, too, is an optimist who believes that the Slovenes will clearly opt for a peaceful, civilized, and democratic way of development and life characterized with stable democracy."

MLADINA Questions Slovene Election Procedures

AU0305191290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-29 Apr 90 p 13

[S. Sicarov report: "Secret Agreements About Elections"]

[Text] Ljubljana—In its latest issue, MLADINA published an analysis of the elections for the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Slovene Assembly, which presents the election results in an entirely new light. One's attention is first attracted by the fact that as many as 43 deputies out of 78 elected to this chamber (which is also going to include one representative of Italian and Hungarian nationalities each) are permanent residents of Ljubljana. This is illogical considering the fact that the seats were equally distributed according to constituencies.

All this becomes clearer when one sees the lists with the number of votes received by each candidate. Thus, for instance, Franci Zavrl from the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia-Liberal Party, received 9,104 votes, but failed to get into the Parliament, while Janez Kopac from the same party received only 2,709 votes, but still got into the Parliament. There is also the example of Drago Demsar, candidate of the Slovene Democratic Alliance, who received 6,959 votes in his constituency, but failed to get into the Parliament, while Rajko Pirnat from the same party received 3,057 votes and was still given a seat in the Assembly Chamber. MLADINA listed 15 such cases in which candidates got into the Assembly although they had simply not been elected in the elections.

The explanation of how this could happen at all is rather simple. Seats in this chamber were given according to the proportion system and when votes were counted in constituencies in the first round and a party received the necessary percentage of votes in a particular constituency, seats were given only to candidates who featured at the head of the party lists (the so-called "list heads").

Thus, for instance, in a constituency which has three seats in this chamber, one seat would be won by a party which received at least 33.3 percent of votes. Because not all seats were distributed in the first round, the results were computed at the republican level and the republican Electoral Commission established the number of votes awarded to a certain party according to the D'Hondt formula [electoral formula named after its Belgian inventor Victor D'Hondt]. The point of the MLADINA discovery is that in the second round, seats were not distributed according to the number of votes received, but according to the so-called national lists that parties submitted to the republican Electoral Commission seven days before the elections. In other words, parties made lists of their members, mainly people belonging to the professional party apparatus, so they enjoyed priority over candidates who were legally elected at polls.

True, such a way to establish seats in the Assembly is "according to the letter of the law," and the law, in turn, is also the result of party agreements about how to establish the electoral system. However, it is interesting to know that the LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]-Party of Democratic Reform

was the only one not to submit its "national list," but to let those candidates be allocated seats in the Parliament who deserved them.

Therefore, the indignant tone of MLADINA's chief editor, Robert Boteri, is fully understandable and justified, when in the editorial he wrote the following: "In the elections, we voted for specific people. However, in some cases, others—the people which the parties secretly agreed on in advance—got into the Parliament. We are going to create problems for the people elected to the Parliament, because they must not think that the people have elected them. They have mainly elected themselves. The task of a magazine is not to solve political problems, but to create them."

By doing this, MLADINA not only broaches the question of whether the first multiparty elections in the Republic of Slovenia were really free, but also creates a real post-election atmosphere, the consequences of which may considerably affect the work of the Parliament.

Serbia Urges Diplomatic Relations With Israel

LD0305142290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1351 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Tel Aviv, 3 May (TANJU)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of Serbia, will pay a visit to Israel. The visit will most likely take place in the second half of June. This was stated by Dusan Mihajlovic, vice president of Serbia's Executive Council, at a news conference in Tel Aviv today.

Milosevic will visit Israel at the invitation of Dov Shilansky, speaker of the Knesset.

Journalists' special attention was attracted by Mihajlovic's reference to the restoration of diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and Israel. According to him, Serbia has been calling on the Federation to restore full diplomatic relations with Israel immediately.

Vojvodina Daily Commentary on Croatian Elections

AU0305184690 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 25 Apr 90 p 5

[Milan Belovic commentary: "The Beginning of the End of the Federation"]

[Text] Ivica Racan and the Communists entered the electoral race in Croatia with the claim that they were thinking seriously, but it seems that Franjo Tudjman and followers of his Croatian Democratic Community were thinking much more seriously, at least to judge by the confidence that was expressed in them by the electorate there. At the moment, it is pointless to discuss and rack one's brains over the question of whether the outcome of the first postwar multiparty elections in this republic is surprising or not. What is more important is what new things the newly established arrangement of forces in Croatia will bring to its political (and nonpolitical) life and what the consequences will be for Yugoslavia.

Do the results of the elections in the "northwest"—Slovenia is of course included here, too—mean the beginning of the end of a federal Yugoslavia and perhaps the complete collapse of Yugoslavia?

The first international reactions to the elections in Croatia show that this issue cannot be exaggerated: They warn that the victory of Tudjman's nationalist party could have serious consequences for the already disturbed interethnic relations in Yugoslavia and lead not only to its collapse but also to civil war. It is not necessary, however, to cite only what they are saying in the world in order to establish what kind of danger is posed for Yugoslavia—which has existed for almost 50 years—by Franjo Tudjman's ascent to power in Croatia. The former general built his electoral campaign—without missing an opportunity to mention this—on the promise to Croats that they would have an independent Croatia and that they would carry their own guns over their own shoulders and their own "purses" in their own pockets. He said that Pavelic's Ustasha Independent State of Croatia was the expression of the "historical" aspirations of the Croatian people, but he threatened to persecute those people who do not behave as they should (the way he says) in Croatia when he comes to power. He promised Croatian emigres, including Ustasha criminals, that the door would be open for their return to "the homeland."

His lieutenants, captains, and other leaders of the Croatian Democratic Community echoed on all sides that Croatia cannot be the shape of the weapon of Australian natives (the boomerang) and that everything from Zemun to the north and Kotor in the south belonged to Croatia. However, they did not dare cross the Drina. They said that the Serbs in Croatia are Orthodox Croats and that the Muslims are "the flower of the Croatian people"—exactly what they were once called by Ante Pavelic.

Since the center (the Coalition of National Understanding), which represents virtually no political force after the elections, is more inclined to the right-wing bloc than to Racan's left wing, the question arises over whether forces exist in this republic that could stop Tudjman's accelerated walk out of Yugoslavia. Are the Serbs and Yugoslav-oriented Croats who also voted for the left too weak for such a thing? The former announced even before the elections that in the event of a Tudjman victory they would demand the creation of political-territorial autonomy for the Serbian people in Croatia as the only possibility of preserving not Yugoslavia but their own identity under Croatian nationalist power.

This development of events in Croatia was also sponsored to a great extent by Ivica Racan, the leader of the Communists, who—while it suited him—fired poisonous arrows at Serbia, spreading fear of the supposed Stalinist policy that is conducted there and warning of

the danger of supposed Serbian nationalism which is being spread throughout Croatia from Serbia. In the struggle for votes, Racan, in the beginning overtly and covertly, colluded with all right-wing forces, only to declare near the end of the preelection race—when real nationalist seances were being organized one after another by the Croatian Democratic Community—that he is the real fighter for Yugoslavia and the equality of everyone in it. His chameleon act did not bring him victory.

What is to Tudjman's advantage outside Croatia is the victory of Demos in the elections in Slovenia: Joze Pucnik, the Demos leader, has similar views on the structure of relations in Yugoslavia and advocates Slovenia's secession. Even if "Kucan's option" of a confederal Slovenia were to prevail, this Yugoslavia, born in Jajce at a meeting of the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] (which Kucan has so often invoked) will no longer exist.

What has happened in Slovenia and especially Croatia will give a stimulus to right-wing forces in other Yugoslav republics and particularly the separatist movement in Kosovo and Metohija.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Alters Membership Rules

LD0405102290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0754 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 4 May (TANJUG)—The Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC] has simplified the procedure for joining this political party. For the time being, a potential member has only to submit an application to a basic organization or municipal committee. This is the essence of temporary instructions for joining the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC.

These instructions were adopted at a session of the Central Committee. They enable a prospective member to choose a basic organization in the region where he is seeking membership. Decisions on persons who have been expelled from the LC or who have held positions in parties having programs opposed to the LC program will be taken by the Presidium of the relevant municipal LC Committee.

Kosovo Presidium Supports LCY Congress Renewal

AU0305190890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Apr 90

[M. A. report: "In Favor of Congress of Renewal"]

[Excerpt] Pristina—At its session held yesterday, the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo supported the proposal of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] to hold the congress of the renewal of the LCY.

The announcement issued from the session says that the proposal of the LCY Central Committee Presidium is in fact in accordance with the orientations of the delegates at the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY, as well as with the orientation of the members, organizations, and organs of the League of Communists of Kosovo, to the effect that ending the work of the 14th congress would be a legitimate way to prepare for the 15th congress of the LCY.

The Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Kosovo is of the opinion that the congress of the renewal of the LCY, that is, the method to convene that congress and its proposed content, will be the way to avoid unnecessary confrontations about the continuation of the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress, which is not based on differences in basic orientations of the parts of the LCY. In this way, one would create realistic prerequisites for all parts of the League of Communists to take part in the congress.

A congress of the renewal of the LCY would create realistic conditions for finding a way out of the blockade in the LCY that occurred in the wake of the interruption of the 14th Extraordinary Congress, and would open prospects for transforming it into a modern political party. [passage omitted]

Vlasi Calls for Dialogue on Kosovo Problem

LD0305182290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1240 GMT 3 May 90

[Text] Zagreb, 3 May (TANJUG)—The measures of repression failed and created an even deeper intranational gap in Kosovo; hence, the only solution for the Kosovo problem is to open up a democratic dialogue in which all democratic forces in Kosovo, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and our entire country should take part.

Azem Vlasi stressed this today [3 May] at a new public platform of the Croat League of Communists-Party of Democratic Changes in Zagreb, cautioning that political alternative movements in Kosovo have become a real political forces which can have a significant impact on the resolution of the Kosovo problems.

New Austrian-Slovenian-Hungarian Periodical

LD0405021490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0100 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Maribor, May 4 (TANJUG)—The daily VECER, published in the Yugoslav town of Maribor, the daily VAS NEPE, published in Szombathely, Hungary, and the Austrian weekly LAJFNET AKTUEL have jointly prepared a periodical, which will be printed in three languages.

The initiative for the joint publication of the periodical, which is aimed at bringing together the populations of the three neighbouring regions and promoting their

economic, cultural and tourist cooperation, comes from the editor in chief of LAJFNET AKTUEL, Ilse Ulak.

In the words of Ulak, the joint periodical was not "ordered from above," but is the result of friendly links spontanously developing among the people in the areas around the Yugoslav-Austrian-Hungarian border.

VECER's editor in chief Drago Simoncic said that the periodical is not the result of nostalgia for times gone by but proceeds from new needs in contemporary Europe, where international cooperation and integration are a growing trend.

VAS NEPE's editor in chief Szandor Vengel is of the same opinion. He sees in the new periodical a possibility of expanding cooperation between Slovenia, Steyrmark in Austria and the Tas county in Hungary.

The joint periodical, whose first issue has 50 pages, will be published from time to time.